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**Appropriations of Irish Drama by Modern
Korean Nationalist Theatre: a focus on the
influence of Sean O'Casey in a colonial context**

By

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Translation Studies

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in any form for another degree, diploma or award at any other university or institution. Any information taken from other sources, either published or unpublished, has been acknowledged in the text, and a list of references accompanies this thesis.

Hunam YUN

October 2010

Abstract

My thesis explores how a translated author on the periphery of the host culture's translated repertoire can be at once subversive and innovative on the colonial scene, using as an example the case of Sean O'Casey in colonial Korea. It explores the importation of Irish drama in modern Korean theatre during the colonial period and examines the appropriations of O'Casey's plays by a central Korean playwright, Yu Chi-jin, in creating his own plays. Under Japanese colonial rule in the early twentieth century, intellectuals perceived the supreme task for the Korean people to be the recovery of national sovereignty and independence. The modern Korean theatre movement which rose among Korean intellectuals and dramatists during the colonial period was to play a major part in this task. The ultimate goal of this movement was to establish a modern national theatre promoting Korean culture and educating the people, thereby recovering national independence. As their modernised dramatic polysystem was still "young," Korean intellectuals and dramatists who were involved in the theatre movement had to borrow dramatic models from other countries. One of the models they chose was Irish playwrights, especially those who were involved in the Irish dramatic movement. They published or staged the works of W.B. Yeats, Lord Dunsany [Edward John Moreton Drax Plunkett], Augusta Gregory, J.M. Synge, St. J. Ervine, T.C. Murray and Sean O'Casey. Although O'Casey was considered an important dramatist in the Irish dramatic movement, he was a playwright on the periphery in the list of translated Irish dramatists in Korea due to the colonisers' censorship. However, he remained as a subversive and innovative playwright on the colonial scene by virtue of being appropriated by Yu Chi-jin who used O'Casey's plays as models when creating his own works. In discussing the subject matter of my thesis, I use Even Zohar's polysystems theory as a starting point in looking at ideological issues surrounding translation and extend the discussion to offer a postcolonial perspective. While most translation in a colonial context was considered as "an expression of the cultural power of the colonisers," my thesis shifts the focus to translation as an expression of the cultural power of the colonised. I explore how the colonised uses another colonised culture to subvert the colonisers' power.

Introduction

General Introduction

My thesis examines how and why foreign drama was appropriated into the Korean literary system during the colonial period of the 1920s and 30s. It focuses on how, during that time, translated authors on the periphery of the host culture's translated repertoire were appropriated and investigates whether that appropriation functioned solely to facilitate resistance under colonialism or provided innovation and renewal to the contemporary national theatre. For the purpose of this research, the formation of Irish drama translation and the appropriation of Sean O'Casey's Dublin trilogy by Korean central dramatist Yu Chi-jin will be investigated, focusing on the modern Korean theatre movement as a political movement that articulated its own desire for independence under colonialism.

I will explore why Irish drama came to be the focus of Korean intellectuals under colonialism, what happened in the process of transfer of Irish drama into Korea, why O'Casey's plays were chosen in Korean theatre, why he remained a minor translated author in spite of the considerable influence he had, what his real position in Korean theatre was under colonialism, why Yu Chi-jin chose O'Casey's plays as a model when creating his own works, what aspects of O'Casey's plays he appropriated in creating his own plays, what the effect was of those appropriations, and what happened to O'Casey's position as the result of the appropriations.

In investigating the transfer and appropriations of Irish drama, I focus on the role of nationalism in organised ideological movements that had as their goal the restoration of their country's independence and the censorship by the colonisers. Korean nationalism had an immense influence on the selection and appropriations of

the texts, which could contribute to form and shape the content the colonised wanted to spread while, with censorship control, the colonisers sought to suppress or restrict the diffusion of resistant or subversive content.

When modern Korean theatre began to evolve during the early twentieth century, Korea came to be faced with Japanese imperial rule. The field of modern Korean theatre became a site of [re]production of the colonisers' *sinpa* theatre during the 1910s. As the Japanese colonial government suppressed traditional Korean theatre and disbanded traditional theatre companies in order to uproot Korean traditional culture, Japanese *sinpa* theatre took the dominant position in modern Korean theatre. During the early 1910s, the coloniser's strict control and suppression of Korean theatre forced great Korean singers who had led Korean theatre to leave Seoul for provincial areas; the coloniser's observation was looser in those areas (Yu M. 2000: 95-104). *Talchum* (Mask-dance drama), *kkokdu gaksi* (puppet theatre), *pansori* (a solo narrative performance) and *changgeuk* (literally meaning 'sung drama') were ousted from the stages in Seoul, and most of the repertoire performed in the capital was folk dance or acrobatics (ibid.). After 1913 when the coloniser's suppression was loosened, great *pansori* singers returned to Seoul and *pansori* and *changgeuk* were performed again in the capital amid great enthusiasm from the Korean audience (ibid.: 106-10): The Korean audience increased as Korean theatres such as the Gwangmudae, the Jangansa and the Danseongsa performed *pansori* and *changgeuk* (*Maeil Sinbo* 6 Mar. 1913). However, due to the coloniser's suppression on the one hand and the popularity of silent movies and *sinpa* theatre on the other, traditional Korean theatre and *changgeuk* lost their influence among the Korean audiences (Yu M. 2000: 95, 137). As one of the measures to save themselves, traditional Korean theatre performers organised actors' associations such as Gyeongseong Old School Actors' Association (*Gyeongseong gupa baeu johap*), but

they could not catch up with the popularity of *sinpa*.

The March First Independence Movement in 1919 provided a turning point.¹ Facing the failure of the political struggle, Korean intellectuals recognised the need to reform and strengthen Korean society and to rouse the Korean people to lay the foundation for a future struggle for national independence. In this way, cultural nationalism arose as an alternative to a political struggle. Almost all the cultural movements launched by Korean intellectuals under the colonial rule were ultimately related to national independence. The modern Korean theatre movement, which was initiated in 1921 and which evolved throughout the 1920s and 1930s, was no exception. The movement aimed to establish modern national theatre and ultimately achieve national independence through the theatre. Korean intellectuals who were involved in the theatre movement considered the theatre a vehicle to educate the public. By presenting the tragic realities of the Korean people under colonialism, they sought to achieve their purposes.

However, as modern theatre was in its infancy, they did not have enough original Korean plays to serve their purpose and they had to depend on foreign drama. As part of this movement, foreign drama was translated and imported, including Irish drama. During this period, Irish playwrights who were involved in the Abbey Theatre were translated on a significant scale for the first time in the history of Korean drama. The importation of the Abbey playwrights was not because of their literary or aesthetic talents, but because of their political connotations: the Koreans thought the activities of the Abbey playwrights contributed to the emergence of the Irish Free State. Korean intellectuals considered the modern Irish

¹ The Korean people rose up against the military regime of Japanese colonisers in mass demonstrations in March, 1919. It was the greatest mass movement of the Korean people in their entire history. Facing the strong resistance of the Korean people and international criticism of their harsh colonial rule, Japanese colonisers reorganised their colonial rule under the slogan "harmony between Japan and Korea" and adopted a Cultural Policy.

dramatic movement, at the centre of which was the Abbey Theatre, a model to be followed.

The translated repertoire of Irish drama was affected by the colonisers' censorship. Among the Abbey playwrights, Sean O'Casey was one of the most important and most influential and it has been argued by some Korean scholars that O'Casey was a considerable influence on Korean central dramatist Yu Chi-jin's creative writing during the colonial period. However, he was on the periphery of the list of translated authors. Only one of O'Casey's plays, *The Shadow of a Gunman*, was translated and then published and none of his plays was staged in Korea under colonialism. This thesis emerged from a consideration of this point: O'Casey was a minor translated author, so how could his plays have had an influence on creating Korean plays that have been positioned in the centre of the Korean dramatic polysystem?²

In the field of Korean drama, studies of Sean O'Casey have been mostly in relation to his influence on Yu Chi-jin, and the Irish dramatist's position in modern Korean drama has not been fully discussed. This is probably because modern Korean theatre has been studied, mostly with the focus of the study on Yu Chi-jin rather than on Sean O'Casey.

This thesis attempts to reposition Sean O'Casey in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem. In order to evaluate an imported writer justly and accurately, it is necessary to situate him or her in the wider socio-cultural and socio-political situation of the host culture. To discover O'Casey's exact position in modern Korean theatre, it is essential to consider the elements of resistance and subversion in the field of modern Korean theatre and Irish drama translation at the crossroad of

² Polysystem is a term that was used by Itamar Even-Zohar. This concept will be discussed in detail in section 'Theoretical Framework and Postcolonial Perspective'.

colonialism, Korean nationalism and modernisation movement. The aim of this thesis is to examine the above questions by locating them in the Korean socio-cultural and socio-political context under colonialism. Although the colonial period extends from 1910 to 1945, the focus is on the 1920s and 1930s, when the modern Korean theatre movement evolved on a large scale and Irish drama was imported. It covers exhaustively those Irish dramas that were translated or produced in colonial Korea.

For research materials for this thesis, I begin by using historical sources to outline the events surrounding the colonisation of Korea by Japan. Then, I use the intellectual journals, magazines and newspapers published during the colonial period and previous studies in relation to traditional and modern Korean theatre in order to define the changes in Korean theatre under colonialism and the dramatic activity prevalent at the time. For the position of translated drama, I depend on essays concerning translated drama published in magazines or newspapers during the colonial period by the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement. In order to explore the appropriation of Irish drama in the process of importation, I examine major articles on Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement published throughout the 1920s and 1930s. For the exhaustive list of translated Irish drama, I depend on previous studies done by Korean scholars of English or Korean literature during the past decades; I also consult newspapers, literary journals and magazines. In order to define the translation strategies of Irish drama, I look at the translated Irish plays themselves published in newspapers, journals and magazines. I rely on literary sources to examine the translators of Irish drama. To define Sean O'Casey's central position in Korean theatre under colonialism, I analyse critical essays and articles published in relation to Irish drama during the 1920s and 1930s, consult censorship materials and published interviews with drama practitioners of the colonial period,

and examine O'Casey's only translated play, itself published in a newspaper. I use literary sources about Irish and Korean drama and other historical sources to examine the appropriation of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy by Yu Chi-jin.

The thesis consists of an introduction, the four chapters of the main body of the thesis, and a conclusion.

Chapter One deals with modern Korean theatre and the position of translated drama in Korean theatre under colonialism. The importation of Irish drama into Korea was closely related to changes in modern Korean theatre under the colonisers' policies and its position was defined by the position of translated drama as a whole in Korean theatre. When modern theatre was developing, the field of Korean theatre became the site of [re]production of the colonisers' theatre and traditional Korean theatre was pushed to the margins of Korean society. However, as cultural nationalism emerged, the modern Korean theatre movement was launched and the field of theatre became the site of resistance. Irish dramas including Sean O'Casey's plays were imported within the sphere of this resistance. The motives of translated Irish drama and its position in colonial Korea should be interpreted against the background of these changes in modern Korean theatre. This chapter explores how the colonisers' policies and Korean cultural nationalism affected the course of modern Korean theatre. It focuses on the modern Korean theatre movement that evolved as a political movement during the 1920s and 1930s. The position of translated drama is also examined in relation to the Korean dramatic polysystem and the modern Korean theatre movement.

Chapter Two investigates the formation of Irish drama in modern Korean theatre. By establishing the link between the Irish dramatic movement as a literary or artistic movement and the modern Korean theatre movement as a political movement, this chapter deals with how the modern Korean theatre movement appropriated Irish

drama for its own political purposes. It also looks at the motive for the choice and translation strategies of each play. It investigates how the choice of each play was relevant to the Korean situation under colonialism or the “young” modern Korean dramatic polysystem, and how translation strategies were mainly the result of consideration of the position of translated drama in modern Korean theatre under colonialism. In order to discover how translators came to choose Irish drama, the social trajectories of the translators of Irish drama are investigated in relation to the modern Korean theatre movement. As part of these processes, the peripheral position of Sean O’Casey on the translated list is confirmed.

Chapter Three identifies the centrality of Sean O’Casey in colonial Korea by looking at the reception process of his plays. Although his plays were on the periphery of the list of translated Irish drama, there is evidence that his plays were received as important works that could serve the purposes of the modern Korean theatre movement. To prove his centrality in modern Korean theatre under colonialism, the representation of his plays and the colonisers’ censorship in modern Korean theatre are explored and the only Korean translation of his work *The Shadow of a Gunman* is examined in relation to translational norms in modern Korean theatre under colonialism.

Chapter Four discusses the resistant and innovative position of Sean O’Casey’s plays in modern Korean theatre under colonialism. For this purpose, the motive of Yu Chi-jin’s appropriation of O’Casey’s Dublin trilogy and its effect is investigated. It is argued that, although O’Casey’s Dublin trilogy could not be directly used as a means of resistance in modern Korean theatre because of the colonisers’ censorship, it still played the role of resistance and innovation in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem by being appropriated by Korean dramatist Yu Chi-jin in creating his realist peasant trilogy, which marked the emergence of realist peasant plays in the

history of modern Korean drama.

In conclusion, O’Casey’s innovative and resistant position in Korean theatre is confirmed by revisiting the process of the transfer of Irish drama and the appropriations of his plays.

Theoretical Framework and Postcolonial Perspective

In keeping with the subject matter of this thesis, and within the context of the polysystem, it is necessary to remember that in approaching modern Korean drama, we are dealing with a “young” dramatic polysystem that was under the influence of colonialism and a nationalist ideology. As a starting point and to give a framework to the discussion, I use Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory.

‘Polysystem’ is a term that was used by Itamar Even-Zohar in order to make explicit the conception of a ‘system’ as dynamic and heterogeneous in opposition to the synchronic approach (Even-Zohar 1990: 12 and 1997a: 40).³ The term ‘polysystem’ was also used “to distance it from the more static connotations which the term had acquired in the Saussurean tradition” (Shuttleworth 1998: 176). In the 1970s, Even-Zohar developed the polysystem theory based on the notion of Tynjanov’s system, which denoted “a multi-layered structure of elements which relate to and interact with each other” (ibid.: 176), and writings of the late Russian Formalists of the 1920s. This theory “led to the great expansion in the field that has come to be known as Translation Studies” (Bassnett 1996: 13) and legitimised research into translation as part of literary studies (Hermans 1999: 102).

³ According to Hermans, since all literary and cultural systems of any size may be assumed to be dynamic and heterogeneous, they are all polysystems, and if all systems are poly-, the ‘poly-’ in ‘polysystems’ is redundant (1999: 106).

According to Russian Formalists, a literary work is “not just a heap of devices but an ordered heap, a hierarchically structured set” (ibid.: 104). Literature can be constantly renewed by continually foregrounding new devices while decommissioning others:

The driving force of literary evolution, in the Formalist conception, lies in this constant urge to replace the familiar with the unfamiliar, the traditional with the innovative. ... A synchronic snapshot may give the impression of a harmonious equilibrium, but it conceals the vying for position, the reshuffling of priorities and the generation conflicts being acted out on the diachronic axis. (ibid.: 104)

This is what happened to the situation with Korean drama in the 1920s and 1930s. First *sinpa* theatre and then translated drama replaced the more familiar traditional theatre, but as a result of cultural interference from the Japanese.

Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory owes most to the work of Jurij Tynjanov, which reflects the Formalists’ mature views. In his essay, ‘On the Evolution of Literature,’ Tynjanov suggested that we view a literary work as a system, as is literature itself (1929/1971: 67). According to Tynjanov, a literary system is, first of all, a system of the functions of the literary order, which are in continual interrelationship with other orders, such as social conventions (ibid.: 72-73). What defines a fact as literary is its interrelationship with both literary and extraliterary orders:

The very existence of a fact *as literary* depends on its differential quality, that is, on its interrelationship with both literary and extraliterary orders.

... What in one epoch would be a literary fact would in another be a common matter of social communication, and vice versa, depending on the whole literary system in which the given fact appears. (Tynjanov 1929/1971: 69)

Tynjanov argues that literary evolution consists in “the *substitution* of systems,” in other words, “the mutation of systems” (ibid.: 67). Mutation, here, means a change in the interrelationships between elements of a system, typically, the centre and periphery changing place (Tynjanov 1929/1971: 76; Hermans 1999: 105). Tynjanov goes on to say that “the study of literary evolution is possible only in relation to literature as a system, interrelated with other systems and conditioned by them” (1929/1971: 77). I would go so far as to say that in the case of Korean theatre, the centre, that is to say, national theatre, changed place with the peripheral, that is to say, translated theatre including Irish theatre.

While pointing out, as one of the major achievements of Russian Formalism, that the Formalists made mass literature, such as popular literature of all sorts and folktales, which had been excluded from literature or considered unworthy of intellectual or academic treatment, a legitimate object for literary science, Even-Zohar goes back to Tynjanov’s conception of literature as a system and introduces the polysystem, a form of a slightly modified concept of system (Even-Zohar 1973). This polysystem includes literary systems as its members. Even-Zohar defines a polysystem as “a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent” (2005: 40). More specifically, a polysystem is “a heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate (or system) of systems which interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of

evolution within the polysystem as a whole” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 176).

In explaining a literary system’s internal workings, Even-Zohar depends on three binary oppositions: oppositions between canonised and non-canonised systems, each consisting of sub-systems; between the system’s centre and its periphery; and between “primary” and “secondary” activities. The canonised/non-canonised dichotomy is intended to represent the “macro-opposition” of the multi-layered system and the idea of canonicity denotes hierarchical relations (Even-Zohar 1977: 32-33). “Canonised” means “those literary norms and works (i.e., both models and texts) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage” (Even-Zohar 1990: 15). In contrast, “non-canonised” means “those norms and texts which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate and whose products are often forgotten in the long run by the community (unless they change their status)” (ibid.: 15). Even-Zohar points out that, in this way, canonicity is no inherent feature of textual activities on any level: it is no euphemism for “good” versus “bad” literature; it is people in-the-culture who conceive of a particular literary unit (text, model) having such a status and the historian may use them only as evidence of a period’s set of norms (ibid.: 15-16). Even-Zohar says the oppositions between the canonised and non-canonised are socio-cultural:

It should be emphasized that canonicity is analogous not to the hierarchical oppositions of language function, but to the hierarchical relations governing the linguistic polysystem. The oppositions that determine what variety of language will be considered “standard,” “civilized,” “vulgar,” “slang,” or “high-brow” are not primarily linguistic, but socio-cultural. (1977: 33)

Even-Zohar also observes that canonicity “does not express one clear-cut relation but, rather, a bundle of relations, which have not yet been satisfactorily clarified. Moreover, it expresses, by a contiguity of ideas, not only the status already acquired by a particular literary unit (text, model), but also its potential status” (ibid.: 32). Canonicity can be applied to literary units either about to gain status or about to lose status.

In regard to the system’s centre and its periphery, Even-Zohar states that, as a rule, the centre of the whole polysystem is identical to the most prestigious canonised repertoire (1990: 17). Repertoire here denotes “the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and handling, or production and consumption, of any given product” (1997c: 20). According to Even-Zohar, canons govern the polysystem that ultimately determines the canonicity of a certain repertoire: Once canonicity has been determined, such a group either adheres to the properties canonised by it (which subsequently gives them control of the polysystem) or, if necessary, alters the repertoire of canonised properties in order to maintain control (1990: 17). The tensions between canonised and non-canonised cultures are universal (ibid.: 16). Under the pressures from the non-canonised challengers, which often threaten to replace the canonised repertoires, the canonised repertoires cannot remain unchanged and this guarantees the evolution of the system, which is the only means of its preservation (ibid.: 16).

Rakefet Sheffy (1990) criticises Even-Zohar’s association of canons with repertoires on the grounds that canons do not usually serve as models for new media and long-term stability because canons are made up of texts rather than of instructions for good writing. In a similar vein, Miguel Gallego Roca has suggested that the polysystem theory underestimates the actively shaping role of a collective

cultural memory (1994: 152, qtd. in Hermans 1999: 108). In spite of these criticisms of the theory, in the case of Korea, the influx of translated literature combined with the colonisers' influence had a marked effect both on the shaping of the canon and on the support for the collective cultural memory.

While the idea of canonicity denotes hierarchical relations, the primary/secondary dichotomy refers to the degree (and type) of admissibility of new elements into a closed repertoire: innovativeness versus conservatism (Even-Zohar 1977: 33; Even-Zohar 1990: 21). 'Primary' activities bring about innovation: "the augmentation and restructuration of a repertoire by the introduction of new elements, as a result of which each product is less predictable, are expressions of an innovatory repertoire (and system)" (Even-Zohar 1990: 21; Hermans 1999: 108). In contrast, 'secondary' activities lead first to consolidation, but eventually to mummification and ineffectiveness by producing models that are constructed in full accordance with what the established repertoire allows (Even-Zohar 1990: 21; Hermans 1999: 108). The struggle between the primary and secondary options is as decisive for the system's evolution as the tension (and struggle) between high and low strata within the system although the former is not a lesser determinant of system evolution than the latter (Even-Zohar 1990: 21; Even-Zohar 1977: 34).

Even-Zohar states that the principles and properties for the intra-relations of the polysystem hold true for its inter-relations as well and these inter-relations involve two kinds of adjacent systems: a larger whole belonging to the same community, and a whole, or its parts, which belong to other communities, either of the same order (sort) or not (1990: 22; 1997: 46). In the first case, any socio-semiotic activity (or field) is a component of a larger (poly)system – that of "culture," and, therefore, is inevitably correlated with other systems pertaining to the same whole. In the second case, a system constituting part of a larger polysystem of the "total culture" of one

community can maintain systemic relations with other systems organising the “cultures” of other communities (Even-Zohar 1990: 22-25; Even-Zohar 1997: 46-47). My thesis involves both cases. It deals with the correlations the Korean dramatic polysystem maintains with the ideological polysystem that constitutes Korean culture. It also deals with the correlations the Korean dramatic polysystem maintains with the polysystems that belong to other communities: the literary polysystem of Irish community and the political and ideological polysystems of the colonisers’ community.

Originally designed to solve certain problems connected with translation theory and the historical structure of Hebrew literature, the polysystem theory came to be used widely as a theoretical framework to study translation activities in a wider socio-cultural context. Even-Zohar conceives of translation as a system within the literary polysystem, emphasising that translated literature operates as a system:

translated works do correlate in at least two ways: (a) in the way their source texts are selected by the target literature, the principles of selection never being uncorrelatable with the home co-systems of the target literature (to put it in the most cautious way); and (b) in the way they adopt specific norms, behaviors, and policies ... which results from their relations with the other home co-systems. (2004: 199)

The selections of Irish drama by Korean intellectuals and the translational norms will be investigated in relation to how the selections and their translational norms are correlated with the home co-systems of the target literature. Furthermore, I will explore the systemic operation of translated Irish drama in relation to the polysystems that belong to other communities, especially in relation to the

colonisers' censorship, which works as a central system of the colonisers' political polysystem.

According to Even-Zohar, translation is an instance of "interference," which he defines "as a relation(ship) between literatures, whereby a certain literature A (a source literature) may become a source of direct or indirect loans for another literature B (a target literature)" (1990: 54). Even-Zohar suggests three major cases in which this interference participates actively in shaping the centre of the polysystem, that is to say, translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem:

(a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of correlated literatures) or "weak," or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (ibid.: 47)

What we will deal with in this thesis is the first case, the young modern Korean dramatic polysystem that had not yet been crystallised. The modern Korean theatre movement was developed during the 1920s and 1930s under colonial rule for the purpose of establishing a modern national theatre and the movement depended on translated drama to serve its purposes. Korean theatre attempted to benefit from the experience of other literatures. As Even-Zohar also points out, "since a young literature cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems" (ibid.: 47). In this case, translation activities can be "primary" or "innovative," leading to culture building. Through the

interference, a new cultural repertoire can be introduced. Culture repertoire, here, means “the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life” (Even-Zohar 1997b: 355). As Even-Zohar observes, “the culture repertoire, although sensed by the members of the group as given, and taken by them for granted, is neither generated nor inherited by our genes, but need be made, learned and adopted by people, that is the members of the group” (ibid.: 357). This making is continuous, although with shifting intensity and volume (ibid.: 357). Translation can play a part in this making, especially when a system of culture is being established, as in the case of modern Korean theatre. In fact, interference tends to be “stronger when systems are either in a state of emergence (that is, are ‘new’/‘newly born’/ ‘newly established’/‘young’) or at turning points in their history” (Even-Zohar 1990: 92-93). Import, that is to say, translation, has always played a much more crucial role in the making of a repertoire than is normally admitted (Even-Zohar 1997b: 357-58). Regarding the making of a culture repertoire, this thesis will investigate how the need is identified by intellectuals and how a culture repertoire is made through translation and appropriations.

When translation is used to make a culture repertoire, translation norms also may be adjusted to serve this purpose. Foreign texts can be models for a new repertoire in the target culture and this position of foreign texts can define translation strategies. In regard to the relation between this position taken by translated literature and translational norms, Even-Zohar says that “the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original) are greater than otherwise” (2004: 203).

However, given that what defines this position of translated literature is “the conditions prevailing in the given polysystem, which are correlated with the overall

polysystem of culture” (Even-Zohar 1990: 93), change factors in the overall polysystem of culture may affect the position of translated literature, and, consequently, the translational norms. Furthermore, the change factors in culture (‘society’) in general will also affect the principles of literary contact, which Even-Zohar suggests are as follows: a source literature is selected by prestige or dominance; interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself; an appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions; appropriation tends to be simplified, regularised, and schematised (ibid.: 59).⁴ Not only translational norms, but also the principles of literary contact are expected to reveal complicated aspects in a colonial situation. These aspects will be investigated as I develop my argument.

What, then, constitutes “culture (‘society’) in general” or an “overall polysystem of culture”? In the 1990 version of polysystem theory, Even-Zohar mentions language, society, economy, politics and ideology together with literature as the overall polysystem of culture (ibid.: 23). However, as he starts to take a “cultural turn” in the 1990s, “in the sense that he shifted his research interest from language and literature to culture in general,” he discards the classification of polysystems into categories, such as politics and ideology “in order to foreground the universal features of all polysystems and formulate a general theory of culture” (Chang 2001: 318-19). In his essay ‘Factors and Dependencies in Culture’ (Even-Zohar 1997c and 2005), he tries to explain the change factors in any particular activity in terms of “the institution in correlation with the market.” The “institution,” which consists of “the aggregate of factors involved with the control of culture,”

⁴ As a revised version of ‘Universals of Literary Contacts’ (1975), Even-Zohar proposes ‘Laws of Literary Interference’ (1990: 53-72). In this new version, he reduces the principles of literary contact from 13 items to 10 items and divides them into three categories: general principles of interference, conditions for the emergence and occurrence of interference, and processes and procedures of interference.

governs the norms, sanctioning some and rejecting others. It also remunerates and reprimands producers and agents, while determining which models will be maintained by a community for a longer period of time (Even-Zohar 2005: 30). The “market”, which is “the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of culture repertoire,” like the institution, mediates between the attempt of a producer to make a product and the chances of that product reaching a target successfully (ibid.: 31).

However, as Chang Nam Fung argues, each polysystem has “unique features in terms of both intra- and inter-relations: Some may be more autonomous, others more heteronomous, and they may interact with different polysystems in different ways” (2001: 320). Chang argues that a special checklist needs to be devised according to the nature of a given polysystem, and suggests a “macro-polysystem” for the investigation of the external politics of translation. “Macro-polysystem” refers to what Even-Zohar calls “the overall polysystem of culture” (ibid.: 321). Chang proposes that the activities and products of translators are governed mainly by norms originating from six polysystems: political, ideological, economic, linguistic, literary, and translational polysystems (ibid.: 321).

Here, the political polysystem is made up of institutions of power and marginalised groups and the ideological polysystem consists of competing and conflicting ideologies of all sorts that exist in a given culture, sponsored by different groups (ibid.: 321). In a colonial situation, these two kinds of systems, in terms of the nationalism of the colonised and the colonisers’ censorship, especially are expected to have a significant influence on translation activities. As I develop my thesis, I will start with nationalism, which constitutes a central system of the ideological polysystem of the colonised.

As Bassnett and Trivedi point out, “Translations are always embedded in

cultural and political systems, and in history”, but “for too long translation was seen as purely an aesthetic act, and ideological problems were disregarded” (1999: 6). The term ‘ideology’ is controversial among scholars, but Peter Fawcett defines it as “an action-oriented set of beliefs” and underlines the relation between ideology and translation:

If we accept the definition of ideology as an action-oriented set of beliefs (Seliger 1976: 91-92, qtd. in Ireland 1989), and if we assume those beliefs, even where they call themselves aesthetic, religious or poetic, to be political in the sense that their application establishes relations of dominance, then we can see how, throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation. (2001: 107)

He argued that it was possible to find an ideological motive even behind the dispute over free versus literal translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This is a view shared by André Lefevere, who argues that “on every level of the translation process, it can be shown that, if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tends to win out” (1992: 39). Developing the argument in his book *The Scandals of Translation*, Venuti maintains ideological manipulation occurs at every stage of translation, from “the very choice of a foreign text to translate, which answers to particular domestic interests” to “the reception of the translation” (1998: 67). The selection of Irish drama in colonial Korea reflects his remark. The examination of the ideological manipulation in the process of the selection will constitute an important part of my thesis. I explore how the functioning of Korean nationalism led to it

becoming a determinant to the selection.

The most consequential effect of the ideological manipulation of translation is the formation of cultural identities (ibid.: 67). By citing Edward Fowler (1992), Venuti explains how the canon of Japanese fiction in English that American publishers established during the 1950s and 1960s, based on a well-defined stereotype, imposed “a nostalgic image of a lost past” on Japanese people for roughly forty years (1998: 71-73). Tymoczko and Gentzler, in their study of power relations and translation, further support this argument by asserting that translations have been “one of the *primary* literary tools that larger social institutions [have] at their disposal to ‘manipulate’ a given society in order to ‘construct’ the kind of ‘culture desired’” (2002: xiii).

In this respect, translation expresses power relations through the production of knowledge and representations. In regard to power-knowledge relations, as Foucault observes in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977), each directly implies the other: power produces knowledge. There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. Based on this power-knowledge relationship, Said (1979) evolved his theory of Orientalism. According to Said, this power-knowledge relationship has created a power relationship in which the West maintains an authoritative position over the East. Dichotomisation is one of the mechanisms by which the West constructs images of the East in order to dominate the East. This power relationship aspect of translation seems to have been most remarkable in colonial contexts, where “knowledge and the representations thus configured are coming to be understood as a central aspect of power” (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002: xxi). Tymoczko and Gentzler argue that “colonialism and imperialism were and are made possible not just by military might

or economic advantage but knowledge as well” (ibid.: xxi). In a similar vein, Eric Cheyfitz states that “translation was, and still is, the central act of European colonization and imperialism in the Americas” (1997: 104).

However, such knowledge and representations may be oppressive or resistant, depending on who represents whom. As Tymoczko and Gentzler argue:

Translation can be used by colonizers as a kind of intelligence operation to interrogate subjects and maintain control, it can also be used by opponents of oppression as counterespionage, to conspire and rebel, for the ultimate goals of self-definition and self-determination in both the political and epistemological senses. (2002: xxi)

For instance, in the study of the relation between Christian conversion and translation in the early Spanish colonisation of the Philippines, Vicente Rafael shows translation can have different meanings for different groups:

For the Spaniards, translation was always a matter of reducing the native language and culture to accessible objects for and subjects of divine and imperial intervention. For the Tagalogs, translation was a process less of internalizing colonial-Christian conventions than of evading their totalizing grip by repeatedly marking the differences between their language and interests and those of the Spaniards. (1993: 211)

I suggest that there are two variants of colonial translation practice: one is those versions of knowledge and representations produced by colonisers and the other is those versions of knowledge and representations produced by the colonised for

themselves in response to colonial pressures. These practices have been explored by [post-] colonial translation scholars, with the former exemplified by Tejaswini Niranjana and the latter by Maria Tymoczko. In her book about the role of translation for colonial domination in Anglo-Indian relations, Niranjana argues that “translation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within, the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism” in terms of representation of the colonised. “In coherent and transparent texts and subjects”, she argues, “translation participated ... in the *fixing* of colonized cultures, making them seem static and unchanging rather than historically constructed,” and accordingly reinforced “hegemonic versions of the colonized, helping them acquire the status of what Edward Said calls representations, or objects without history” (Niranjana 1992: 3). As Gandhi stated:

The colonial past is not simply a reservoir of ‘raw’ political experiences and practices to be theorized from the detached and enlightened perspective of the present. It is also the scene of intense discursive and conceptual activity, characterized by a profusion of thought and writing about the cultural and political identities of colonized subjects. (1998: 5)

In contrast, Tymoczko (1999) approaches the history of translation from a different perspective. Giving examples in the Irish context of how the image of their heritage was manipulated in the process of translation, she shows that translation “constituted a means of inventing tradition, inventing the nation, and inventing the self” when it was done for a people themselves (1999: 18). She argues that the Irish seized upon translation of their native cultural heritage as one means of re-establishing and redefining their nation and their people in the struggle for independence. Translation, thus, is “a deliberate and conscious act of selection,

assemblage, structuration, and fabrication - and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes” (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002: xxi).

These studies in colonial contexts show postcolonial perspectives. Definitions of the term “post-colonial” vary widely, but Ashcroft and Stephen’s definitions seem most useful for the purpose of my thesis. Ashcroft defines “post-colonial” as from the moment of colonisation to the present day (1989: 2). Stephen defines the term in a similar vein: from the moment that colonial power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others to the modern times of neo-colonialist international relations (1991: 3).

Together with other cultural theories, such as poststructuralism and feminism, postcolonialism, for which the principal catalyst and reference point is commonly thought to be the publication of Said’s *Orientalism* in 1978 (Gandhi 1998: 25), has caused radical changes in literary and cultural studies (Venuti 1997: 363) and is “currently making most of the running in translation studies” (Hermans 1999: 157). However, as Cronin says, “Translation is frequently presented in colonial contexts as either a predatory, exploitative activity or as the True Path to reconciliation, understanding and the withering away of prejudice. Less account has been taken of translation as resistance” (2000: 35). It seems that this is because of the influence of postcolonial theory: according to Bart Moore-Gilbert, leading postcolonial theorists Said, Spivak and Bhabha did not place a great deal of importance on the achievements of nationalistic resistance to colonialism (1997: 15-16). This is probably why postcolonial translation studies have shown less interest in the resistance aspects of translation and, in this way, translation in colonial contexts came to be generally understood as the power of the coloniser. However, “historically speaking, anti-colonial resistances have taken many forms, and they

have drawn upon a wide variety of resources” (Loomba 1998: 185). Translation was one such form, but this field was not much investigated by translation scholars.

Postcolonial theorist Leela Gandhi’s remark in relation to the task of postcolonial theory can also apply to postcolonial translation studies. Gandhi says that when postcolonial theory returns to the colonial scene, “it finds two stories: the seductive narrative of power, and alongside that the counter-narrative of the colonised – politely, but firmly, declining the come on of colonialism” and “postcoloniality derives its genealogy from both narratives” (1998: 22). Thus, Gandhi views it in relation to the task of postcolonial theory:

The postcolonial recovery of the colonial condition ... is, in the first place, an attempt to reveal the coloniser and the colonised as a historical incarnation of Hegel’s master and slave. But the task of postcolonial theoretical retrieval cannot stop there. For if history is the record of failure, it also bears testimony to the slave’s refusal to concede the master’s existential priority. As Nandy tells us, it is crucial for postcolonial theory to take seriously the idea of a psychological resistance to colonialism’s civilising mission. (ibid.: 17)

Postcolonial translation should also pay attention to the psychological resistance to colonialism, not only to the retrieval of the colonial condition imposed by the colonisers. Translation practices that are involved in the response and resistance to colonialism also should be taken seriously in postcolonial translation studies.

As one subject in this field, it seems that present situations of former colonies that are still colonial in that they use, for example, their former colonisers’ language, are more frequently discussed than when they were politically under colonial rule. In

these discussions, language matters have been the focus: as a way to assert their culture and identity, writers and translators from former colonies around the world depend on translation strategies described by “the cannibalistic metaphor,” in which the devouring could be perceived as the colonised people breaking free from what was imposed upon them, at the same time, as both a violation of European codes and an act of homage (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 4-5). Postcolonial writers, for instance, imprint the mark of their own language as a way to resist the hegemony of the dominant language (Tymoczko 1999; Gyasi 2006).⁵ From the perspective of European culture, translation was a means “both of containing the artistic achievements of writers in other languages and of asserting the supremacy of the dominant, European culture,” but radical concepts of translation emerged from former colonies that “challenge established European norms about what translation is and what it signifies” (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 4-6). These concepts are a far cry from the traditional notion of faithfulness to an original, or of a translator as the servant of the source text: for example, the Brazilian translator Heraldo de Campose says that translation may be likened to a blood transfusion, where the emphasis is on the health and nourishment of the translator (*ibid.*: 5).

My thesis is about a ‘blood transfusion’, where the emphasis is on the health and nourishment of not only the translator-writer, but also the nation. My thesis starts from the recognition of translation as the cultural power of the colonised in colonial contexts, specifically, how foreign texts can be used as a means of resistance and innovation by the colonised. I explore appropriations that were made in the process, from the selection of foreign texts to translate through translating and staging to creative writing. My concern here lies in the appropriation of ideas, characters, and

⁵ Bassnett says that “the post-colonial approach to translation is to see linguistic exchange as essentially dialogic, as a process that happens in a space that belongs to neither source nor target absolutely” (2002: 6).

textual structure rather than the language matter in order to create the resistant discourse.

Given that this thesis is concerned with resistance aspects under colonial rule, we will not be able to avoid the matter of censorship. Two forms of censorship are involved in this project: political censorship imposed by the colonisers and self-censorship imposed by the colonised themselves. Colonial scenes commonly witness colonised people attempting to subvert the colonisers' power by spreading resistant and subversive views or information, while the colonisers try to suppress them. In this process censorship is inevitably involved. The colonisers wield their political censorship, which I define as the suppression of views or information that are contrary to those of the colonial government and, in this situation, the colonised people internalise the political censorship to impose self-censorship, which I define as the conscious suppression of the right or freedom to express oneself.

In his book about cultural nationalism in colonial Korea, Michael Robinson says that the publication policy mirrors “the freeze and thaw of colonial policy” in Korea; the initial ‘modulating’ controls of publication followed the harsh repression and restrictions between 1910 and 1919; subsequently, between 1920 and 1928, these severe controls were relaxed, only to be renewed after 1929 (1984: 314). Robinson says this flexible publication policy enabled the colonisers to shape the content of publications to serve their purposes:

Closer examination of Japanese publication policy reveals that its success did not stem from that kind of brute repression. Instead the flexibility of Japanese censorship control enabled them to shape the content of Korean publications to their satisfaction. (ibid.: 312)

However, this does not apply similarly to all aspects of all publications. The modern Korean theatre movement was developed under this flexible censorship and Korean intellectuals took advantage of the flexibility to find a niche. Translation activities were developed in the niche although within limits. These censorship aspects will also be a focus of discussion in my thesis.

In examining translation as the cultural power of the colonised, I deal with the languages of colonised people: Korean drama and Irish drama. I will explore how Irish drama was appropriated by the Korean people and how Sean O'Casey's plays, which were positioned on the periphery of the translated repertoire, came to be appropriated for the purpose of resistance and innovation in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem under colonialism.

In discussing the subject matter of my thesis, I use the polysystem theory as a starting point in looking at ideological issues surrounding translation and extend the discussion to offer a postcolonial perspective. As Chang points out, polysystem theory has had hardly any dialogue with postcolonialism (2001: 329); my thesis can be read as one of the rare attempts at this. I hope my thesis will offer a new perspective in the area of drama translation, postcolonial translation, and comparative cultural studies. I also hope that this thesis can be read as a process of the formation of national identity in that translating and appropriations were a process of establishing a national theatre, and the use of the Korean vernacular language, not the Japanese tongue, in translation and stage was a means of cultural resistance against colonial rule and of creating a national culture.

Chapter 1. Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism

The world of modern Korean theatre under colonial rule was the site of a power struggle between the colonisers and the colonised. Colonial policies and Korean cultural nationalism played a vital role in taking the initiative alternatively between them. During the first decade of colonial rule, the Japanese colonisers dominated the field of modern Korean theatre by transplanting and reproducing their *sinpa* theatre. Then, the colonised Koreans led the field during the 1920s and 1930s by launching the modern Korean theatre movement. Lastly, the colonisers dominated again by exercising a stricter control over Korean nationalistic theatre during the last period of colonial rule from the late 1930s until the liberation of Korea in 1945. Among these changes, Irish drama was situated. The field of Irish drama in Korea was formed when the colonised Koreans had the initiative in the theatre field and it followed that the purposes of Irish drama in Korea were related to the interests of the colonised Koreans. The purposes of the modern Korean theatre movement, which was launched and which then evolved among young Korean intellectuals during the 1920s and 1930s, defined the selection of Irish drama. Therefore, to understand the position and the functions of Irish drama in Korean theatre under colonialism, it is important to be aware of the changes that took place in modern Korean theatre under colonial rule and the features of the modern Korean theatre movement.

The aim of this chapter is to provide the whole picture of modern Korean theatre under colonial rule, which became the context in which the choice of Irish drama was made. Especially, it focuses on the modern Korean theatre movement that was launched by Korean intellectuals for political purposes and the position of translated drama that was determined in relation to the political purposes of the modern Korean theatre movement. Through these studies, I argue that the purposes

of translated drama in Korean theatre under colonialism were political rather than aesthetic or literary.

First, modern Korean theatre before colonisation is examined briefly, and then modern Korean theatre as a site of [re]production of the colonisers' *sinpa* theatre is discussed. The next section deals with the resistant and subversive field in modern Korean theatre, focusing on the modern Korean theatre movement. Finally, there is an examination of the position of translated drama in modern Korean theatre.

1.1. The Beginnings of Modern Korean Theatre: Before 1910 and Colonisation

The traditional form of Korean theatre art was folk theatre, which was performed and mostly enjoyed by the lower classes. Folk theatre was performed outdoors.

According to the Korean drama critic and historian Yu Min-yeong, it was in the late nineteenth century, following exchanges with the Western world, that Korean people first showed an awareness of indoor theatres (2001: 22). The records on Western theatre and Western-style indoor stages began to appear at that time: Yu Gil-jun (1856-1914), a Korean politician and reformist of the late Joseon Dynasty, introduced the Western dramatic forms of comedy and tragedy, the Western theatre system and mise-en-scène in his book titled *Seoyugyeonmun* (Travel Sketches of Western Countries) that was published in 1895, and Min Yeong-hwan (1861-1905),⁶ a minister of Korea's late Joseon Dynasty, explained about the scale of the Western-style indoor theatre in the diary he wrote while travelling through Russia in 1896 (Yi D. 1981: 3-4).

⁶ He visited Russia in 1896 to attend the coronation of Russian czar Nicolas II. In 1905, when the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty was made, he presented a memorandum to the king, saying that the treaty should be annulled. He committed suicide when his aim was not attained.

The demand for a new type of theatre began to rise around this time. With a move towards modernisation as the result of contact with Western countries and Japan, Korean people felt the need for a new type of theatre that could reflect their period. Especially, this need was felt among the majority of Korean intelligentsia and urban audiences (Cho O. 1988: 9). With this demand, elements of modern theatre began to be seen. The most prominent phenomenon was the emergence of indoor stages in the late nineteenth century. Although it was in 1902 that Hyeomnyulsa, the first Western-style theatre house established by the government, was opened, there were indoor theatres established by civilians before then. One of the articles of the *Hwangseong Sinmun* daily news published in 1899 says that low fellows established Mudong theatre at Ahyeon and other theatres in other places and people swarmed about to see them (*Hwangseong Sinmun* 3rd April 1899). Another article of the same newspaper indicates that there was another theatre at Yongsan before 1902 (*Hwangseong Sinmun* 6th March 1900). It is not known what the theatres at Ahyeon and Yongsan were like. Hyeomnyulsa was the first national indoor theatre: it opened in 1902 to celebrate the 40-year reign of King Gojong (Yu M. 1998: 23; Baek H. 1997:30). According to Yi Sang-u, it was established as part of building a modern nation-state (2004: 42-48). It could accommodate 500 theatre-goers. The Hyeomnyulsa was forced to close after Yi Pil-hwa's memorandum to King Gojong to the effect that the theatre corrupted public morals (ibid.: 28-30). Regarding the reasons of its closure, there are two opposite views: the involvement of Korean nationalists and that of Japanese colonisers. Yi Sang-u (2004) argues that Korean nationalist newspapers such as *Daehan Maeil Sinbo* and *Hwangseong Sinmun* attacked the Hyeomnyulsa because of the involvement of Japanese people and pro-Japanese Koreans in its establishment and this led to its closure. By contrast, according to Seo Yeon-ho, given that the Korean administration had lost its real

power and degenerated into a kind of lady-in-waiting to Japan after the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty in 1905, the closure does not seem to have been decided by the Korean ruling classes alone (1975: 171-73). This opinion suggests the interference of Japanese colonisers in Korean theatre.

In 1907, a number of other theatres, including Gwangmudae, Yeonheungsa and Danseongsa, opened. Yi Sang-pil, Gwak Han-seung, and Gwak Han-yeong, who worked for the Hansung Electronic Company, co-financed by Korea and the U.S., opened a play theatre, later called the Gwangmudae, in order to reform traditional Korean theatre (Yu M. 1998: 66-70). Traditional Korean theatre had been produced in this theatre before the colonisation of Korea. After colonisation, the theatre was used for the performance of Japanese *sinpa* by theatre companies such as the Hyeoksindan and the Chwiseongjwa.⁷ The Yeonheungsa was used for the performance of traditional Korean theatre, but subsequently became a site of the reproduction of Japanese *sinpa* theatre until 1915, when it was closed. The Danseongsa was used for the performance of traditional Korean theatre and later remodelled as the first permanent Korean cinema (ibid.: 157).⁸

In July 1908, the Wongaksa theatre was opened by Yi In-jik: it was Hyeomnyulsa re-opened. Yi In-jik staged his own play *Eunsegye* (A Silver World), which was based on the enlightenment novel by him. This play was not a type of Western-style drama, but a *changgeuk*, a new genre of Korean opera that had evolved from *pansori* (Seo Y. 1975: 175-77; Baek H. 1997: 19). Traditional Korean theatre and *changgeuk* were performed at the Wongaksa until it was closed in 1909.

⁷ During the 1920s, Gwangmudae was opened to the *singeuk* (new drama) theatre companies, such as the Towolhoe (Yu M. 1998: 105). In 1928, the right to run the theatre was taken over by Japan.

⁸ The nationalistic film *Arirang* (1926), directed by and starring Na Un-gyu, the best known Korean actor and director of the 1920s, was shown in the Danseongsa. Later the film was banned by the Japanese colonial government because of its nationalistic inclination.

The distinctive feature of these theatre houses is that they were opened, not by theatre practitioners, but by government officials or businessmen (Yu M. 1998: 12). It seems that this was because, until then, most theatre practitioners were involved in traditional Korean theatre, and had no understanding of modern theatre - and had no capital to open a theatre – so they felt no need for Western-style theatre houses. The involvement of government officials or businessmen also revealed the fact that modern theatre was the preserve of the upper classes while traditional Korean theatre was the preserve of the lower classes. This may explain the improved status of the theatre in Korea.

The performance repertoire staged in these theatre houses during this period included *pansori*, such as *Chunhyangjeon* (Tale of Chunhyang) and *Heungbujeon* (Tale of Heungbu), and a variety of Korean traditional dances. The emergence of indoor theatre houses brought about a change in theatre conventions and partly led to a decline in some forms of traditional Korean theatre that were unsuitable for indoor conventions, although the most important factor to affect the decline was the colonial policies. *Pansori*, witticism and dance flourished, but mask-dance drama and puppet theatre declined (Yu M. 2001: 12). For example, the mask-dance of Hahoe village, the central part of an annual festival, was no longer performed after 1928. Since then, the festival itself has stopped being held (Cho O. 1988: 9).

Another feature of Korean theatre during this period was the advent of *changgeuk*, a type of opera that was performed in *pansori* –style singing. *Changgeuk* began to develop when the musical storytelling tradition of *pansori* was brought into the new public theatres in the early 1900s (Killick 2003: 44).

Three elements of *pansori* were transformed to suit the Western-style modern theatre: the roles that were previously played by one singer were divided among

many singers, *aniri* (stylised speech) was replaced by dramatic dialogue and *neoreumsae* (gestures) was replaced by dramatic acting (Seo Y. 1975: 25).

As Killick also pointed out, although the historical origins of this transformation from *pansori* into *changgeuk* remain a subject of debate and cannot be definitively answered, most Korean scholars, except a handful, have believed the influence to be the Chinese operas, depending on Korean veteran *pansori* singer Yi Dongbaek's recollection (Killick 2003: 46-47 and 2010: 28-72): Pak Hwang (1976) and Yu Min-yeong (2000) emphasise the influence of the Chinese operas, and Choe Ung, Yu Taesu and Yi Taebeom also mention the influence of the Chinese operas together with *sinpa* and *kabuki* (Choe U. et al. 2004: 178-181). Pointing out that the documentary record is too thin to admit any final and authoritative account of Chinese influence on the formation of *changgeuk*, and the primary sources support Japanese and American influences rather than Chinese, Killick argues that the most widely believed story of the Chinese influence is fabrication (2003: 47 and 2010: 67-72). Killick continues to say that this fabrication was made in response to the postcolonial predicament: "the newly liberated nation needed to assert its right to political independence through symbols that would express its cultural independence from its former colonists" (2003: 48 and 2010: 70). Killick explains the origin of *changgeuk* by polygenesis rather than direct influence of Chinese opera. He sees *changgeuk* as an example of "hybrid-popular theatre", which was suggested by Hanne de Bruin as a name for the novel forms of drama that arose in various parts of South and South-east Asia as a result of "direct and indirect contacts between indigenous expressive genres and Western, melodramatic performance conventions and proscenium stage techniques, which were 'imported' into Asia during colonial times" (2003: 51 and 2010: 47). What distinguishes hybrid-popular theatre is that

elements of local narrative and dramatic traditions are brought together with conventions deriving from Western theatre:

Performances are given in an enclosed space open to all those, and only those, who will pay the price of admission; the subject matter is more human; and the presentation is more realistic. (Killick 2003: 51)

Killick sees that hybrid-popular theatre forms were developed when the social and political conditions were propitious, which conditions were generally brought about by colonisation, and *changgeuk* was developed in the similar conditions (ibid.: 52-53). Given that Korea had contacts with other worlds, not just China, before the advent of *changgeuk*, his opinion seems to be persuasive.

As the background of the appearance of *changgeuk*, drama historian Seo Yeon-ho argues: firstly, it emerged to meet the demands of intellectuals who wanted to improve Korean theatre by developing it in the image of Western modern theatre; secondly, it was a move to avoid the suppression of traditional Korean theatre by the ruling classes; as mentioned above, the suppression of traditional theatre by the ruling classes was partly related to the Japanese interference. Thirdly, it represented an effort by Japan and pro-Japanese theatre practitioners to make traditional Korean theatre take on a more Japanese style (Seo Y. 1975: 179). This background seems to be related to the position of *changgeuk* in Korean theatre history: *changgeuk* had been disparaged as “a corrupt form of *pansori*”, “a variant of commercialised *pansori*”, “a deformed drama which depended on Western drama”, “an art grafted onto heterogeneous culture without independent thinking” (Choe U. et al. 2004: 175). Together with its short history and unstable performance conventions (Killick 2010: xvii), this is why, as Killick also pointed out (2003: 44), *changgeuk* is still struggling

for recognition as “traditional Korean opera” after nearly a century while Hobsbawm and Ranger’s “invented traditions” are generally accepted as “traditional” within a few years (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1).

Like traditional Korean theatres, *changgeuk* experienced rise and fall on the Korean stage during the colonial period in Korea. During the mid-1910’s when the coloniser’s suppression was loosened, *changgeuk* enjoyed popularity among the Korean audience so much as to compete with *sinpa* (Baek H. 1997: 92-96; Yu M. 2000: 106-10), but after that, it was squeezed out of the Korean stage by *sinpa* and modern Korean drama from mid-1910 to 1920s (Choe U. et al. 2004: 182-83), and then it was revived again during the 1930s. Joseon Seongak Yeonguhoe (Korean Vocal Music Association) was founded in 1934 and the Dongyang Theatre opened in 1935; both events contributed to the revival of *changgeuk* (Yu M. 2002; Killick 2003: 55; Choe U. 2004: 183). It was during the 1930s that the genre name *changgeuk* came to be used for the first time; it was called *sinyeongeuk*, new drama, before the advent of *sinpa* dramas during the 1900s and then *guyeongeuk*, old drama, or *gupageuk*, old school drama, after the advent of *sinpa* during the 1910s. The Joseon Seongak Yeonguhoe created a new form of *changgeuk* with most of the features we would recognise in the genre today (Killick 2003: 56; Baek H. 1997: 25).

There were also changes in the audience. Traditionally, theatre audiences had mostly been from the lower classes. During the first decade of the twentieth century, however, the upper classes, such as high government officials and their children, joined the audience, although the middle classes and intellectuals still kept away from the theatre. The emergence of a new audience also meant a demand for new plays to fill the programme.

However, professional directors and actresses did not appear during this period. It was not until 1918 that the first Korean actress appeared on stage although there

had been female entertainer *gisaeng* before this.⁹ *Gisaeng* performances sometimes included dramatised scenes. Professional directors did not appear on the dramatic scene until after 1919 (Yu M. 2001: 11).

As seen above, with the demand for a new type of theatre, the Korean theatre world began to be prepared for modern theatre by opening indoor theatre houses although they were still performing traditional types of theatre. However, before modern theatre had evolved, Korea was colonised and the evolvement of modern Korean theatre was influenced by colonial policies. The next section will deal with how colonial policies changed the field of Korean theatre.

1.2. Korean Theatre as a Site of [Re-]production of the Colonisers' *Sinpa* Theatre

The specific context of Korean theatre is important to the understanding of the material I wish to present and the background I am about to describe will help to locate the relative positions of national Korean theatre and Japanese theatre.

1.2.1. Traditional Korean Theatre under Colonialism

1.2.1.1. Features of Traditional Korean Theatre

Before discussing how the status of traditional Korean theatre suffered changes due to colonial policies, I will briefly explain the features of traditional Korean theatre in order to show which aspects of traditional Korean theatre motivated the colonisers' suppression.

Traditional Korean theatre mostly refers to three genres: *talchum* (mask-dance drama), *pansori* and *kkokdu gaksi* (puppet theatre).¹⁰ The Korean mask-dance drama

⁹ Actress Yi Wol-hwa first performed in the Singeukjwa in 1918.

¹⁰ Korean drama critic Yu Min-yeong includes '*jaedam* (witty talk shows)' when he talks about

is a form of theatre in which dance and drama are combined. It is a dance performed by masked dancers acting as persons, animals or supernatural beings, to the accompaniment of traditional Korean drums, strings and wind instruments playing tunes based on Korean folk music.

The origins of *talchum* have varied among scholars: *sandae* masque, which was performed on an outdoor makeshift stage; *narye* rituals, which were performed to expel ghosts; *giak*, songs and dances to make the offering to Budha; agricultural rituals; shaman dances; and carnivals (Choe U. et al. 2004: 3-9).

Korean mask-dance drama consists of dialogue, songs, mime and dance. The script is based on the oral tradition. It consists of several acts, each of which has its own independent plot. The episodes they have in common are the ancient ritual dance, a *yangban* (the ruling class) dance, an old Buddhist monk dance and an old-man-and-woman dance; different drama acts have been added in different regions (Jeon K. 1998: 17).

Traditionally, mask drama was performed outdoors by the lower classes.¹¹ The players were local farmers, merchants, labourers, or the husbands or sons of female shamans (ibid.: 27). They were all males until *gisaeng*, female entertainers, took up the role of female characters in modern times. The most remarkable feature of Korean mask-dance drama is the active role of the audience. From the start, they take part in the ritual dances of the first act and, toward the end of the performance, the actors and the audience mix together in a lively dance. The most common themes in this drama are degenerate aristocrats, immoral Buddhist monks and men's tyranny in

traditional Korean theatre (2001: 31).

¹¹ During the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties, mask-dance drama was performed on an improvised stage called a *sandae*, a stage raised with bundles of wood.

a feudal society (ibid.: 17). In this sense, mask drama had subversive aspects and these aspects could have been a threat to the colonisers.

Pansori is a solo-narrative performance where one actor or actress delivers a narrative in the form of a song. The *pansori* is performed by one *gwangdae* (professional entertainer) and one *gosu* (drummer), with the singer standing and the drummer sitting. The story is delivered through three elements of performance: *chang* (a traditional Korean singing style), *aniri* (stylised speech) and *neoreumsae* (gestures). Years of training are required to sing the *pansori* because of its distinctive singing style.

Because of its elusive history, it has been difficult to determine *pansori*'s origins, but it is presumed to have been established in the early 18th century (Choe U. et al. 2004: 126). Regarding the origin of *pansori*, there have been literary and folkloristics approaches: literary approaches posit narratives or traditional legends as its origin, while folkloristics approaches posit shamanistic epics, *gwangdae* and Chinese *gangchang* (storytelling) literature as its origin (ibid.: 123-26). As for the shamanistic epics, *pansori* has presumed to have originated from *seosamuga* - a narrative in the form of song sung by a shaman. It is believed to have developed into its current form during the early eighteenth century, when a wealthy bourgeoisie appeared with the development of commerce and demanded artistic and realistic arts rather than religious and shamanistic arts (Cho D. 1985: 16-17).¹²

The repertoire of *pansori* originally consisted of twelve stories, with each story having different versions depending on the singer, but only five stories survive today. *Pansori* explores social inequality, the hypocrisy of the ruling class and the emotional conflicts of the common people. Traditionally, *pansori* was performed in

¹² The first documentary record on *pansori* is the *Chunhyangga* in 1754. It was translated into a form of Chinese poetry (Cho D. 1985: 16).

farming villages or markets and enjoyed by the lower classes. Its language was the everyday language used by the common people and mostly consisted of satire, humour, jokes and parody. However, when it was performed in *yangban*'s private parties or feasts, its character as a folk art was reduced and its language was also changed to meet the demands of the aristocracy, as Cho Dong-Il, a scholar of Korean literature, explains:

Pansori incorporated refined expressions suited to *yangban* tastes and even imitated fiction of the written language. In so doing, *pansori* developed its distinctive complexity and even displayed characteristics that resonated with *yangban* literature. (1997: 69)

In spite of all this, *pansori* enjoyed popularity among people of all classes. Indeed, the economic power of the aristocracy enabled *pansori* artists to become full-time professionals and “develop their musical and dramatic skills by enriching and invigorating the content and expression of the performance” (ibid.: 68-69).

The modest performing resources of *pansori*, which requires only one singer and one drummer, meant it could be performed wherever there was an audience who could pay for the performance. *Pansori* performers would tour fishing or farming villages or sell their performance in the markets. They would also perform for special occasions, such as at a rich man's private party. The top-class performers even had opportunities to perform at the palace (Cho D. 1985: 19-20).

Pansori was able to flourish under colonial rule because of its superficial theme and the wide range of audiences to which it appealed. According to Cho Dong-Il, *pansori* has two strata of themes: a superficial theme and a deeper underlying theme. Most of the superficial themes refer to conventional lessons, such as loyalty,

brotherliness and filial duty. The deeper themes are drawn from the logic of conflict, which can be interpreted in a variety of ways. For example, the superficial theme of *Chunhyangga* is faithfulness to one's husband, but one of its inner themes could be humanistic emancipation from class restrictions (ibid.: 26-27). Furthermore, the fact that the performers of *pansori* were professional artists also supported its survival (ibid.: 28).

Puppet theatre is one of the oldest forms of popular entertainment in Korea, and its precise origin is not known. The traditional Korean puppet, called *kkokdu* or *kkokdu gaksi*, does not belong in any strict sense to any of the most familiar puppet categories. It combines aspects of a hand puppet, a rod puppet and a marionette:

The body of the Korean puppet, the main stick, is held by the hand, which is reminiscent of the hand puppet; its arms, somewhat like the marionette, are manipulated by strings from below; and the unique quality of arm movement reminds audiences of the characteristic stiff mobilisation of the rod puppet. (Cho O. 1988: 309)

Puppet theatre was performed on a collapsible and portable stage, because the puppeteers travelled from village to village to find audiences. As with all traditional forms of Korean theatre, music was one of the most important elements of Korean puppet theatre. Music was generally improvised according to the dance and movement requirements of the puppet, or to maintain the interest of the audience during the performance. Three kinds of traditional Korean musical instruments were commonly employed: the *janggo*, *gwaenggwari* and *nallari*. All Korean puppet plays were preserved orally and passed on from one generation of players to the next. As in the other forms of traditional Korean theatre, the major themes of puppet plays

involved satire against the members of the privileged classes: corrupt local government officials, pretentious Buddhist scholars, apostate Buddhist monks and degenerate aristocrats (ibid.: 311).

The traditional forms of Korean theatre, as discussed above, shared a number of common features, although each genre varied in its form of expression. In most cases, it dealt with the subversive consciousness, which could have been interpreted as a threat to the colonisers. Their storylines were based on stock characters and formulaic situations, which were traditionally handed down orally from generation to generation. The issue was how to act. The witty remarks of the traditional theatre varied depending on the interaction with the audience, the environment of the performance and the people of each period (Seo Y. 1975: 94). These conventions of traditional Korean theatre are similar to those of the *commedia dell' arte*. *Commedia dell' arte* also involved performers who improvised around a basic plot synopsis and there was no fixed script or dialogue (Fraser 2004: 51). Thus, several versions of each play were available in traditional Korean theatre. This meant that the performer was also a writer and director. There was no professional director and the performance depended on so-called “self-directing” (Byeon G. 1962: 49; Yu M. 2001: 11).

1.2.1.2. Traditional Korean Theatre under Colonialism

With the colonisation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese colonisers seized social, political and economic power in Korea on the one hand and tried to root out Korean ethnicity by erasing the indigenous culture and imposing their own culture on Korea on the other hand. These Japanese colonial policies affected the field of modern Korean theatre: traditional Korean theatre declined in its early stage of

modernisation and had to relinquish its place in the field of Korean theatre to the colonisers' theatre.

Although the Japanese colonial government adopted direct rule over Korea following French colonialism, it tried to eradicate the Korean culture in the name of assimilation, unlike the French colonisers (Cha G. 1985; Choe Y. 1997) and Korean theatre was also a site of the assimilation policy.

Originally serving religious, educational and entertainment purposes (Cho O. 1988: 9), traditional Korean theatre came to predominate as a popular art form with functions different from these during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Seo Y. 1975: 17). During this period, Korea suffered from the influence of foreign powers, such as Japan and China, the authoritarianism of the *yangban* began to collapse, the rural and industrial economy began to recover and popular literature began to appear. With these social changes, Korean folk theatre came to have the characteristics of resistance and subversion: it was performed for the purpose of the subversion of the authority of the ruling class. It seems that these aspects, in particular, were interpreted by the colonial government as presenting a threat to the colonisers' power because the folk theatre could be performed for the purpose of resistance to the colonisers. Another aspect of traditional Korean theatre that could have been a threat to the colonisers was its scale. The Japanese colonial government, which feared any assembly of the Korean people, considered large-scale folk drama performances to be dangerous and suppressed them (Kim Hunggyu 2003: 315).

The colonial government strove to eradicate traditional Korean theatre by stamping it out physically while producing a distorted image of the theatre. In relation to the destruction of national culture under colonialism, Frantz Fanon said that "colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a

people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content" (1966: 170); likewise, Japanese colonialism was not content to impose its rule on the present of the dominated country and people. The colonisers strove to erase the past of the oppressed Korean people by eradicating traditional Korean culture. Fanon's statement that "by a kind of perverted logic, it [colonialism] turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (1995: 154) exactly describes the situation of traditional Korean theatre under Japanese colonialism. The reason colonisers are concerned about the colonised nation's past is because "with a strong indigenous cultural life foreign domination cannot be sure of its perpetuation" (Cabral 1994: 53).

Japanese colonisers, identifying themselves as part of civilised European countries, attempted to perpetuate their domination, relying on "dichotomisation" (Lee N. 2004: 99-100). According to Said (1979), "dichotomisation" is one of the mechanisms by which the West constructs images of the East in order to dominate the East. Dichotomisation is the process of creating images of the object in binary opposition to the self: the Oriental is irrational, depraved, fallen, childlike, and different; the European is rational, virtuous, mature, and normal. Given their power over the Koreans, the Japanese colonisers used the mechanism of dichotomisation to construct an image of traditional Korean theatre.

According to their logic, while Japanese people had European characteristics, Korean people had Oriental characteristics. Thus, they considered that they needed to guide and enlighten the Korean people. The indigenous culture of the Korean people, in their view, was also savage, emotional, inferior and depraved, and needed to be replaced by the civilised Japanese culture (Kim Yong-jick 2006: 157; Lee N. 2004: 99-100). Therefore, traditional Korean theatre also needed to be replaced by civilised Japanese theatre.

Even before the colonisation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese colonisers, who had already seized power in Korea with the Protectorate Treaty in 1905, tried to create and spread ‘knowledge’ of traditional Korean theatre based on the “Manichean opposition.” As JanMohamed said, “Motivated by his desire to conquer and dominate, the imperialist configures the colonial realm as a confrontation based on differences in race, language, social customs, cultural values, and modes of production” (1985: 64).

The colonisers described traditional Korean theatre as immoral or corrupt while Japanese theatre was depicted as a model to be followed (*Daehan Maeil Sinbo* 8 June 1909). The negative image of traditional Korean theatre was intensified after the official colonisation of Korea: Traditional Korean theatre is portrayed as an unlawful social evil that causes harm to society. Korean actors are described as the “ragtag and bobtail,” “depraved and jobless loafers,” while it is suggested the audience is to be “lewd women and libertines” (*Daehan Maeil Sinbo* 25 June 1911). Thus, the Japanese colonisers defined Korean theatres, such as the Gwangmudae and the Danseongsa, as hotbeds of lewdness and obscenity to be suppressed (Yu M. 2001: 47). Korean ruling classes also took part in creating this negative image and the image they created of traditional Korean theatre offered a good excuse to suppress Korean theatre.

Another strategy that the colonisers used to control traditional Korean theatre was censorship. The censorship of plays allowed the colonisers control of the material. In July 1909, the Police Department of the Japanese colonial government began to examine senior theatrical practitioners from each Korean theatre and allowed them to perform only after their scripts had passed censorship (*Daehan Minbo* 9 July 1909). Furthermore, the Japanese colonisers dissolved Korean theatre companies and forced Korean theatres to close (*Daehan Minbo* 28 July 1909).

Korean theatrical practitioners often performed outdoors, but those outdoor performances were also the targets of the colonisers' suppression. The Japanese colonisers also directly intervened in and discontinued the performances of traditional Korean theatre. From 1910, the Japanese Provost Marshal Headquarters and the Police Department of the Japanese colonial government sent inspectors to Korean theatres and allowed them to wield total authority to intervene in and stop performances at any time, without prior warning (*Daehan Minbo* 8 Nov. 1910). As another way of annihilating traditional theatre, Japanese colonisers arrested and imprisoned theatre staff and performers (*Gwoneop Sinmun* 26 May 1912).

Despite all this suppression, Korean theatres that produced traditional Korean drama, such as the Gwangmudae, the Jangansa and the Danseongsa, were crowded with Korean audiences, and nationalistic theatrical practitioners, such as Bak Seung-pil, did not give up traditional Korean theatre (Yu M. 2001: 47-51). As Japanese theatre encroached on the field of Korean theatre, traditional Korean theatre strove to survive by enlarging its scale or organising societies for its support. Bak Seung-pil, one of the influential theatre and film practitioners during the 1910s, organised a society of support and merged the Gwangmudae and the Danseongsa to compete with Japanese theatre (*ibid.*: 50-51). However, the suppression of traditional Korean theatre, together with the popularity of Japanese *sinpa* among the Korean people, which flourished under the encouragement of the Japanese colonial government, brought about the decline of traditional Korean theatre. At first, *sinpa* theatre was not well accepted by the Korean public because of the 'Japaneseness' of its themes and sentiment. However, as a result of advertisements for and encouragement of *sinpa* in newspapers, as well as thematic adaptations to Korean society, more and more Korean people came to enjoy *sinpa*. Thus, modern Korean theatre came to be dominated by Japanese *sinpa*.

1.2.2. Japanese *Sinpa* Theatre in Colonial Korea

12.2.1. Dissemination of *Sinpa* Theatre in Colonial Korea

Sinpa (new wave drama) was a concept that was used to oppose the old-style Japanese drama, that is, *kabuki*.¹³ It was a new type of drama, “the first to develop outside the *kabuki* world after the Meiji Restoration as an attempt to modernize and westernize Japan’s drama” (Ortolani 1990: 233). During the early stages of its development (1888-1897), *sinpa* dealt with political themes.¹⁴ When the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1894, it was used to encourage the hostilities, and then, after the war, in around 1897, it was developed into a commercial theatre form, dealing with detective stories, adapted novels and translated Western plays, and later, following the advent of female actors, with family tragedies or tragic love stories. This kind of melodramatic *sinpa* was the form that was imported into colonial Korea under the colonisers’ policy as part of the transplantation of the colonisers’ culture (Yi D. 1981: 46). The *sinpa* imported into colonial Korea featured many melodramatic elements: stereotypical characters, exaggerated emotions, subordination of character development to plot, an emphasis on entertainment, a focus on sensational incidents, an emphasis on practical morals, and popular themes and stories (Choe U. et al. 2004: 262-69). As the Japanese had experience of how theatre could be employed politically they used it as a tool to influence people.

Together with the colonisers’ policies, the dissemination of *sinpa* drama in colonial Korea was also related to Japanese residents in Korea. Japanese people had

¹³ For more about *sinpa* see Bowers 1974: 211-16, Ortolani 1990: 233-67, Yi D. 1981: 45-46, Yu M. 2001: 119, and Jo Y. 1982: 96.

¹⁴ Originally *sinpa* was called *sosisibai* or *shoseisibai*. Here *sosi* or *shosei* meant young men who joined the Liberal Party to oppose Ito Hirobumi’s extreme Westernisation policies. When Ito suppressed public opinion that was against his policies, young men used the theatre as a means to appeal to the public. In addition to the propaganda of political arguments, another purpose of *sinpa* was to reform the old theatre, *kabuki*.

begun to immigrate into Korea following the Treaty of Ganghwa in 1876 and the number increased with the emigration policy that was vigorously promoted by the Japanese government after its victory in the Sino-Japanese war in 1894. Thus, a Japanese village formed around Chungmu-ro, Namdaemun and Toegye-ro streets in Seoul.¹⁵ *Sinpa* drama flowed into Korea with the immigration.¹⁶ *Sinpa* theatre companies toured the nation with a performance repertoire of military drama, detective drama and family tragedies (Yu M. 1997: 35).

Before colonisation, there had been three types of theatres in Korea: theatres such as the Wongaksa, which performed traditional Korean theatre only, theatres that produced *sinpa* theatre just for Japanese residents (although there were also Korean audiences) and theatres that performed *sinpa* and Korean dances for mixed Japanese and Korean audiences (Yu M. 2001: 120-21). The colonial government encouraged the second and third types of theatres while suppressing the first type (ibid.: 21). Thus, *sinpa* theatre gradually infiltrated the Korean public. An increasing number of actors came to adopt *sinpa* under the patronage and encouragement of the colonial government together with a yearning for a new culture, although they experienced divided loyalties because it was the colonisers' culture. In the long run, many Korean *sinpa* theatre companies were organised and played a part in disseminating *sinpa* theatre. Although they pursued nationalistic purposes, they had a contrary effect on the Korean people.

The first *sinpa* theatre company organised by a Korean was the Hyeoksindan. It was organised in 1911 by Yim Seong-gu. Yim taught himself Japanese and was very

¹⁵ In 1908, the number of Japanese residents in Seoul was approximately 37,000. Given that the population of Seoul at that time was approximately 200,000, this was a considerable proportion (Yu M. 2001: 117).

¹⁶ It was in 1907 that *sinpa* was introduced into Korea (Yu M. 2001: 118 and 2006a: 152-53).

fluent in the language, although he was otherwise uneducated. He worked for a Japanese theatre in Seoul, doing chores, and this was where he learned Japanese *sinpa*. Under the slogan of loyal and filial devotion, patriotism, morality and the cultivation of public intelligence, he organised the Hyeoksindan (Byeon G. 1962: 48) and staged *Bulhyocheonbeol* (The Wrath of God on the Lack of Filial Piety) in the Eoseongjwa theatre in 1911 (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u. 2000: 56). The Hyeoksindan theatre company performed *sinpa* dramas, most of which were adaptations of Japanese *sinpa* plays (Jo Y. 1982: 97). The actors intentionally adopted an exaggerated acting style by imitating Japanese models. Despite criticism from Korean intellectuals of the performance of the colonisers' theatre, *sinpa* became popular among the Korean public within a few months and the actors who played the leading roles enjoyed acclaim.

The popularity of the Hyeoksindan led to the organisation of many other *sinpa* theatre companies: about ten *sinpa* theatre companies were formed within three or four years after the appearance of the Hyeoksindan (Yu M. 2001: 132).¹⁷ Among them were some companies, such as the Yuildan and the Munsuseong, which were organised by Korean intellectuals who had studied in Japan. They claimed to produce high-quality *sinpa*, in contrast to the Hyeoksindan, and tried to improve the quality of the performance. The Yuildan theatre company was organised in 1912 by Yi Gi-se. Yi had studied at Tokyo University and had worked for Sijuma Gojoro, a leading figure of *sinpa* theatre in Japan, for two years. The company's first performance was an adaptation of the Japanese *sinpa* *Cheo* (Wife) in the Gaeseongjwa theatre in November 1912, which was acclaimed for its good acting (ibid.: 130-31). Unlike most other *sinpa* theatre companies, which tried to make a

¹⁷ The Hyeoksindan theatre company dissolved in 1921 when Yim Seong-gu died of illness (Jo Y. 1982: 98-99).

profit by satisfying public tastes, the Yuildan produced noncommercial plays and performance styles (Byeon G. 1962: 49). Thus, faced with financial difficulties, the Yuildan had to dissolve in 1914.

Another theatre company that played a leading role in disseminating *sinpa* theatre during this period was the Munsuseong. The Munsuseong theatre company was organised in 1912 by Yun Baek-nam, who had studied at Waseda University in Tokyo. The company was professedly created for the performance of noncommercial *sinpa* theatre, and its first performance was *Bulyeogwi* (A Little Cuckoo), an adaptation of a Japanese *sinpa* drama, in the Danseongsa theatre in 1913 (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 57). The company staged eight plays between 1913 and 1916 and showed realistic mise-en-scènes. Although it succeeded in expanding interest in the theatre among young Korean intellectuals, it did not enjoy as much popularity as the Hyeoksindan, as the common Korean audience could not understand this academic theatre (*Maeil Sinbo* 31 Mar. 1912). The company finally had to dissolve in 1916 due to financial difficulties. Although “theatre practitioners were respected as the forerunners of the enlightenment movement at that time” their income was low and they suffered financial difficulties (Byeon G. 1962: 52).

In addition to the above three companies, more than twenty companies were formed during this decade, including the Cheongnyeonpa Ildan (1912), the Yihwadan (1912), the Gihwadan (1913) and the Gaeryangdan (1914), and more than 100 *sinpa* dramas were staged (Choe U. et al. 2004: 248-53; Yu M. 1997: 45-46). Most of the *sinpa* dramas that were staged during this period were adaptations of Japanese military, detective and family plays with the theme of enlightenment (Yu M. 1997: 45-48). The most popular genre was military drama with adapted settings and with Japan instead of China or Russia being depicted as the enemy. They received a great response from the Korean audience, but were severely suppressed by the

Japanese colonial government (*Gwoneop Sinmun* 26 May 1912).

Stronger censorship of theatre performances and scripts by the colonial government forced military plays to relinquish their position to commercial plays (Choe U. et al. 2004: 261). The most popular theatrical genre, next to the military, was detective theatre. Enlightenment plays were also staged quite often. These plays dealt with national sovereignty and independence, new education, criticism of Confucian conventions and the abolition of superstition and class distinctions (ibid.: 261). However, the most frequently staged plays were family tragedies.

At this time, written texts were not used in performance (Byeon G. 1962: 49). The reasons oral texts were used in the field of modern Korean theatre were that they were modelled after the Japanese *kuchidate* performance style, that is, improvised actions under a leader's guidance, and most Korean theatre practitioners were uneducated. As no scripts were used, censorship was on the performances themselves. As mentioned above, the colonisers sent inspectors to Korean theatres and allowed them to intervene in and stop performances at any time, without prior warning.

The leading theatre practitioners during the 1910s included Yim Seong-gu, Yun Baek-nam, Jo Il-je, Yi Gi-se, Gim Do-san, Gim So-rang, Bak Chang-han and Han Chang-ryeol; with the exception of Yun Baek-nam, Yi Gi-se, and Han Chang-ryeol, they had received no higher education or learning in the field of the theatre (Yu M. 1997: 48). The stage setting also imitated that of Japanese *sinpa* theatre, even in adaptations: a Japanese-style house and a room with a *tatami* (Japanese floor mat). The stories were about Korean families or society and Korean actors wearing Korean dress spoke in Korean on the *sinpa*-style stage (Yu M. 2001: 133; Yi D. 1981: 133).

Despite poor acting and low quality scripts, *sinpa* theatre was popular among the Korean audience. During the 1910s, the word 'theatre' meant *sinpa* (Yi D. 1981:

133).

1.2.2.2. Influence of *Sinpa* Theatre on the Field of Korean Theatre

Some Korean leaders of *sinpa* theatre during the 1910s had ambitions to educate and enlighten the public through theatre. They thought of theatre as a means of social education and enlightenment:

당시 연극인들의 포부와 경륜은 자못 커서 ... 사회교육이라는 커다란 곳에다가 그 목표를 두었었다. ... 우리는 연극은 사회교육을 위하여 가장 효과적인 방도라는 신념 하에 움직인 것이 사실이다. (Yi Gi-se 1937)

Theatre practitioners at that time had great ambitions of social education ...

We [theatre practitioners] were engaged in theatre in the belief that theatre was the most effective method of social education.¹⁸

However, the influence of *sinpa* on the public showed the opposite. The second decade of the twentieth century was a period when the Korean people were politically, economically and culturally oppressed by the colonisers: The Japanese colonisers monopolised Korea's natural resources, controlled finance and public service enterprises, uprooted possible political opposition, and broke up rural communities. This was also the 'dark period' when the human rights of the Korean people were denied under martial law. However, the repertoire of *sinpa* theatre was far from the social reality that the Korean people faced politically and economically. Rather, it dealt with the pre-modern sentiment:

¹⁸ Unless otherwise specified, English translations of all quotations from Korean texts are my own translations.

신파극 레퍼터리가 대부분 헌신의 강제, 의무에의 인종, 따라서 자유와 자아의 포기이며 인간의 상실이요 ... 추악한 축첩이라든가 고부간 갈등 또는 금전을 사이에 한 부모형제간의 상극, 반상의 대립 등이 ... 뒤엎힌 가정비극이 대부분 차지했다. (Yu M. 1997: 79-81)

Most of *sinpa* repertoire dealt with forced self-sacrifice, submission to duty, and thus abandonment of one's self and freedom and denial of humanity. ... [Most of the repertoires were] family tragedies caused by concubinage, the struggle and conflict between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law and between nobles and commoners, and strife between parents and children over money matters.

The repertoire encouraged sentimentalism, submission to the stronger and a taste for tragic beauty: it admired the sorrow of parting rather than the pleasure of reunion, death rather than life, sacrifice rather than love, and submission rather than resistance (Yi D. 1981: 66). Thus, contrary to the intentions of *sinpa* leaders, *sinpa* theatre during the 1910s made no contribution as a social instrument to awaken or enlighten the public. Far from leading to a nationalistic awakening of the Korean people, its role was merely that of a form of popular entertainment. There were several reasons why *sinpa* theatre became cheap and popular as Yu Min-yeong points out (1997: 81-82). First of all, the suppression and censorship of the theatre made it impossible to perform artistic plays that described the reality of colonial Korea. *Sinpa* theatre practitioners also had some responsibility for this trend. Most of them were not sufficiently well educated and had no historical consciousness. So they accepted and performed, without any critical judgement, the *sinpa* plays that were

staged by third-class Japanese theatre companies. As a result, *sinpa* theatre in Korea helped to form and shape the Korean people in a way that enabled the colonisers to dominate and control them easily. In addition to the extinction of traditional Korean theatre, *sinpa* theatre weakened the discernment and judgement of the Korean people and paralysed their consciousness by encouraging frustration, tears, abandonment and escapism. The Korean public, addicted to *sinpa*, became increasingly nihilistic, pessimistic and defeatist, and tried to forget the sorrows of a homeless race with tears. In this way, *sinpa* theatre discouraged their spirit of resistance and independence (Yu M. 1982: 100; Han H. 1956: 237-38; Seo Y. 1975: 21). *Sinpa* had little effect on the Korean people except to reinforce the values that the Japanese wanted to reinforce. Furthermore, *sinpa* delayed the development of modern theatre in Korea: at a time when modern theatre had not yet been developed into a set of recognisable conventions, melodramatic *sinpa*, which was not modern in a strict sense, was transplanted into Korean theatre.

Accordingly, *sinpa* theatre could not continue to enjoy popularity among the Korean people. The Korean public who visited theatres to see *sinpa*, initially out of curiosity, increasingly became tired of this type of theatre. At the end of the 1910s, the Korean audience rapidly decreased; most of the audience were pro-Japanese Koreans, either wealthy leisured women or students who were studying in Japan (Seo Y. 1975: 21). The negative influence of *sinpa* also incurred criticism and attacks from Korean intellectuals. *Sinpa* theatre was regarded by Korean intellectuals as the theatre of propaganda, reactionary ideas, the provocation of animal instincts, the preaching of extreme individualism and the disregard of human beings and life (Han H. 1956: 237-38). Therefore, the underlying risk was that *sinpa* theatre would be subverted at any time. The rapid decline of *sinpa* from the 1920s onwards proved this to be so. With the rise of the modern Korean theatre movement, *sinpa* theatre

companies lost their dominance in the capital of Seoul and had to travel from province to province, with some *sinpa* theatre leaders abandoning this form. Yi Gi-se, one of the leaders of the *sinpa* theatre, quit the *sinpa* theatre movement and turned to other cultural enterprises immediately after the March First Independence Movement of 1919. Yun Baek-nam, another *sinpa* leader, also quit *sinpa* theatre and turned to the modern Korean theatre movement (Yu M. 2006a: 179). A new form of theatre came to dominate the Korean stage at this time.

1.3. Resistance and Subversion: the Modern Korean Theatre Movement

1.3.1. Socio-political Background

The emergence of a new form of theatre in Korea was closely related to the cultural nationalism under the colonial rule in Korea, the rise of which was the product of the colonisers' policies during the first phase of colonial rule. The first phase lasts from the signing of the Treaty of Annexation in 1910 until the March First Movement in 1919 when the Korean people rose against the brutal military regime of Japanese colonisers in mass demonstrations. This was the period when Japanese colonisers hardened the social, political, and economic grounds for thorough colonial rule by monopolising Korea's natural resources, controlling finance and public service enterprises, uprooting the possible political opposition, breaking up the rural communities by returning to the ancient system of feudal land-tenancy, and so forth. This was also the "dark period" when the human rights of the Korean people were denied under the rule by the bayonet.

With the Treaty of Annexation, "His Majesty the Emperor of Korea" came to make "the complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of

all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.”¹⁹ After this, Korean nationalism showed a tendency towards fighting against colonialism and for the attainment of national independence. However, during the first phase of colonial rule or the Dark Period,²⁰ the nationalist movement was unsuccessful due to the thorough suppression of the nationalists by the Japanese colonisers. During the Dark Period, the socio-political situation of Korea was as follows.

With the Treaty of Annexation, a Government-General replaced the Residency-General, and a Governor-General replaced the Resident-General. According to the Case concerning the Laws and Ordinances to be Enforced promulgated in March 1911 and the Official Regulations on the Government-General in Joseon proclaimed in September 1910, the Governor-General, who was appointed by the emperor of Japan from the ranks of Japanese generals or admirals on active duty, was vested with all legislative, executive, judicial and military powers. He controlled all state affairs and the army and navy, issued legislative directives, oversaw the judicial system, had fiscal independence, and controlled the appointments within his bureaucracy (Bak G. 1986: 40-41). One of the authorities vested in the Governor-General was the sovereign power through a military police system, which the Japanese government introduced in June 1910. The police controlled agency of politics, education, religion, and morals and also had summary powers with regard to misdemeanours (Eckert et al. 1990: 259). With these absolute powers, the police assumed the key role in colonial policy to subjugate the Korean

¹⁹ Article 1 of the Treaty of Annexation (Bak G. 1986: 34).

²⁰ The colonial rule on the Korean peninsula stretches from August 1910 until August 1945 when Japan was defeated in the Pacific War. Korean historians divide the colonial period into three phases: the period of ‘Military Dictatorial Government’ or ‘Dark Period’ from 1910 till 1919, the period of ‘Cultural Policy’ from 1919 till 1931 and the period of ‘Fascist Rule’ between 1931 and 1945.

people and nationalists during the first phase of Japanese rule known as the “Military Dictatorial Government.”

Under the rule of Terauchi Masatake, the first Governor-General, political organisations were disbanded and public gatherings of all types were prohibited according to the existing Peace Preservation Law of 1907 and a new law, the Case concerning the Ban on Political Assembly, or Outside Crowd Assembly, promulgated in August 1910. Assemblies for any purpose without the permission of the police were punished under the Regulations on Police Offence Punishment proclaimed in March 1912 (Bak G. 1986: 51). In 1912 alone, there were over 50,000 arrests for all crimes including arrests for illegal political activity and assembly (Eckert et al. 1990: 260). In addition, anyone who did not cooperate with this rule was subject to arrest. As Simons tells us, “According to statistics published in the *Annual Statistical Bulletin* of the Japanese Governor-General of Korea, between 1911 and 1918 there were 330,025 cases of summary conviction under the military regime” (1995: 127).

In December 1910, the Government-General conducted a wholesale roundup of educationalists and intellectuals as a warning to Korean nationalists in order to contain political opposition in advance. This became known as the Case of the One Hundred and Five. The Japanese aim was to sap the nationalists’ morale and clear away obstacles to colonial rule over Korea by arresting Christian leaders and expelling American missionaries from the Korean peninsula.

Terauchi Masatake also tried to “cripple the political opposition to colonial rule” by muzzling the press (Bak G. 1986: 139). The Korean press, which already was being severely censored under the 1907 Newspaper Publication Law and the 1909 Publication Law, had to suffer stricter control and supervision after the 1910 annexation. The publication of all newspapers and magazines that had a hint of

patriotism or nationalism was discontinued, and the sale, circulation, or publication of textbooks and books about Korean history and geography, and all translations about nation-building, independence, or the rise and fall of foreign countries were prohibited (ibid.: 139). Major newspapers, such as *Hwangseong Sinmun*, *Daehan Maeil Sinbo*, and *Jeguk Sinmun*, which had assumed an important role in the recovery of national sovereignty among Korean people, were forced to cease publication, and the magazine *Sonyeon* (Boy), which had had an important status in the history of Korean literature, was forced to suspend its publication. Due to the blackout of the Korean press, which was the main channel of communication among the literati and the politically conscious elements in Korean society, the dialogue between them was restricted and nationalists' efforts to mobilise opposition to Japanese rule were hampered (Eckert et al. 1990: 260).

The Japanese government, which had begun to control the educational system in Korea during the Protectorate period, also sought to obliterate the very identity of the Korean people through a new educational system. The early educational policy of Japanese colonial rule was clearly revealed in the Joseon Educational Ordinance of 1911 and the Private School Regulations of 1911 and 1915 (Bak G. 1986: 144-59). In December 1910, Terauchi Masatake confiscated textbooks written by Koreans and promulgated the Joseon Educational Ordinance in September 1911. Given that Koreans spent only a short time education, that there was a minimum budget and that the emphasis was on practical education, the Ordinance of 30 articles did not provide Koreans with a high quality education.

According to the Ordinance, the aim of education was to foster faithful and good subjects on the basis of the Imperial Rescript concerning education. The

education system included common, vocational and professional education:²¹

common education was meant to ensure the instruction of common knowledge and skill, engendering national characteristics and the spread of the Japanese language; vocational education focused on knowledge and skills about agriculture, industry and commerce; and professional education focused on teaching higher learning and the arts.

However, contrary to the Japanese goal in the field of education, the Japanese education system stimulated political consciousness by spreading literacy in both the Korean and the Japanese language among the Korean people. The colonial education system during the first phase of the Japanese colonial rule served several purposes:

It was designed to train a literate labor force for future economic development and to educate Koreans to Japanese customs, culture and language. More importantly, perhaps, it provided a mechanism for the broad transmission of Japanese cultural and political values in order to legitimate Japanese rule. (Eckert et al. 1990: 262)

However, increased literacy created a base for a larger group of politically mobilised individuals whose experience of discrimination within the Japanese system drove them to active opposition to Japanese rule (ibid.: 264). The education

²¹ There were two sets of schools in Korea: one for Koreans, another for Japanese. These two sets of schools were differentiated by quality of instruction, facilities and curriculum. The time Koreans spent in education was short, from two to four years, and they had fewer schools. For example, in 1919, the number of common schools for Koreans was 484 for a population of 17 million with 84,000 children while that for the Japanese (elementary school) was 393 for 330,000 Japanese immigrants in Korea with 42,000 children. The Korean people were reluctant to have their children attend those schools. They wanted to educate their children in private schools or *Seodang* where the quality of education was better and nationalistic courses were open. Thus, the Japanese authorities mobilised the police to coerce them to attend those government and public schools (Bak G. 1986: 146).

system laid the foundation for the later March First Independence Movement.

As Robinson points out, the nature of Japanese rule during the first phase of colonial rule stimulated the Korean national identity and the growth of political consciousness while repressing its political expression (1988: 39). The harsh military dictatorial policies under the first phase of colonial rule caused Koreans to give vent to their anger. Enraged by the harsh colonial rule at home and encouraged by the principle of self-determination championed by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson in his “Speech on the Fourteen Points” articulated as an integral part of the post-World War I peace settlement,²² Koreans rose up against Japanese colonial rule. The demonstrations for independence gradually spread all over the country until the cries of ‘*Tongnip manse!*’ filled the whole country and spread even to Manchuria, the Russian Maritime Territory, and other overseas areas for the period of one year.²³ This was the March First Movement, which provided a turning point in the nationalistic movements and led to a cultural movement being established.

Korean nationalism reached another turning point with the March First Independence Movement as the Japanese government made a significant change in its colonial policy over Korea. Facing the strong resistance of the Movement, the Japanese home government realised that their harsh colonial rule was inadequate. Thus, the Hara government of Tokyo passed the Revised Organic Regulations of the Government-General of Korea in August 1919 and took measures to reorganise

²² <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1918wilson.html>> 12 Nov. 2008.

²³ During the first two months, more than two million people participated in the Movement through 1,491 demonstrations in 229 among 232 cities and counties (Lee C. 1963: 114). The Japanese government’s response to the demonstrations was merciless and brutal and military reinforcements were summoned from Japan to help suppress the demonstrations. There were many arrests, beatings, killings and burnings nationwide. According to Park Eun-sik’s *Hanguk Dongnipundongjihyeolsa* (The Bloody History of Korean Independence Movement), which was written based on the field survey by foreign journalists and missionaries, the damage suffered by the Korean people was as follows: 7,509 were killed, 15,961 were wounded, and 46,948 were imprisoned; 47 churches, 2 schools, and 715 houses were burned (2008: 198).

colonial rule under the slogan “harmony between Japan and Korea”. The government appointed Admiral Saito Makoto as the third Governor-General and adopted an appeasement policy instead of a military dictatorial policy. The policy followed during this period is called the “Cultural Policy.”

Although the real goal of the new policy was to hide their stronger assimilationism, as Japanese premier Hara Kei put it in his ‘Personal Opinion about the Rule over Joseon’,²⁴ the new policy altered the political, social and cultural climate in Korea. This had both advantages and disadvantages. This Cultural Policy affected the Korean nationalist movement and cultural development amongst Korean elites. Korean nationalists took advantage of the expanded limits for organisations and publishing announced by the Japanese Cultural Policy. Korean nationalism now became a mass phenomenon. It was “no longer the monopoly of Westernized intellectual elites. A decade of harsh Japanese rule had combined with the spread of literacy and communications to galvanize a widespread Korean national consciousness” (Robinson 1988: 3). The nationalist movement for the independence of the nation went on inside and outside of Korea against this socio-political background. The Korean Provisional Government was organised in Shanghai in April 1919, military anti-Japanese fights continued abroad and the national movement to raise the level of national consciousness, education and economic development was unfolded within Korea. By this time, there had also appeared the nationalist movement connected with the socialism of Lenin, who led

²⁴ Hara Kei’s opinion shows the real intent of the new policy, as follows: “I believe we can enforce the same systems in Korea as we have in Homeland Japan. We should adopt the same administrative, judiciary, military, economic, financial, educational and guidance systems. Then, we surely will achieve the same effect as we did in Homeland Japan as a result. The Joseon people may be easily assimilated into Japanese society as their character and behavior gives them a basic tendency to be well assimilated in a way. Therefore, in the principle to rule over the Joseon people, we should adopt the same policy as we have in Homeland Japan” (my translation) (Bak G. 1986: 194).

the Russian Revolution successfully, which promised to help the independence of weaker nations.

These nationalist movements were divided into two groups according to their ideological lines: radical and moderate. The radical nationalist group strove to attain independence through social revolution and direct resistance to the colonial rule while the moderate group advocated gradual reform for the problem of independence.

Among these two nationalist groups, the moderate nationalist group was related to cultural nationalism, that is, the cultural nationalists launched several movements that came to be known collectively as the *Munhwa undong* (cultural movement). The terms *munhwa undong* and *munhwapa* (cultural faction) were in common use in the colonial press after 1920. They were both general designations for moderate nationalists who favoured long-term national development, both cultural and economic, as an ultimate solution to the problem of independence (ibid.: 167).

The reason the cultural nationalists turned to the cultural movement rather than direct resistance to the colonial rule was as follows:

One obvious lesson of the March First Movement was that independence could not be attained through emotional appeals alone. Large-scale uprisings did arouse sympathies abroad and even bring about some reforms in government, but this was far from independence, or even from autonomy within the Japanese Empire. In order to acquire independence, it seemed that the Korean people would have to rely on their own strength in terms of economy, education, and politics. (Lee C. 1963: 238)

A remark by Maruyama Tsurukichi, the head of the Japanese police at that time, also reveals the aim of the Korean cultural nationalism. He divided the Korean

nationalist movement into two camps - cultural nationalists and social revolutionaries - and gave the following explanation regarding the cultural nationalists:

They [the cultural nationalists] advocate independence through their own means and methods. They realize that they can only depend on their own devices and have no real military power to gain independence now. Thus, they advocate self-strengthening for the future. There is a clear trend since 1919, that is, to work for independence for their grandchildren and reject dependence on great powers. The culture movement is essentially this type of independence movement; they hide their demands in cultural activities.²⁵ (qtd. in Robinson 1984: 329)

Korean cultural nationalism as a movement under Japanese colonial rule can be defined as the gradual movement to strengthen the nation in terms of economy, education, culture and politics, to lay the foundation for future political independence as a modern nation-state (Robinson 1988: 6). Whereas political nationalists concentrated on the ‘practical’ aspects of attaining independence, the cultural nationalists were concerned with practically enhancing national prosperity and imaginatively constructing a national consciousness and national identity that could be mobilised alongside the actual steps toward statehood. As Eckert says, “Although these cultural nationalists were not confined to a single organization or under a common leadership they were unified by an ideology of non-confrontation, gradualism, and social development” (1990: 290). Robinson points out, “In addition,

²⁵ Maruyama Tsurukichi, *Chosen chian no genjo oyobi shorai* (Public Peace and Order in Korea, Present and Future) (Keijo: Chosen Sotokufu, Jimukan, 1922) p.6. qtd. in Robinson 1984: 329.

the cultural movement, in many ways, represented a distillation of Korean nationalist thought since 1900, emphasizing as it did education, national consciousness-raising, and capitalist development” (1988: 6); this movement was the continuance of the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement in its purpose and character.

The activities the cultural nationalists mounted were varied, ranging from the establishment of a National University and Korean Production movements to academic, literary, and artistic movements. They included movements of the press, publications, education, industry, youth, women, thought, religion, literature, drama, music, art, film, *Hanguel* (Korean language), gymnastics, and the study of Korea’s unique cultural heritage. Mostly, the societies or organisations that emerged after the March First Movement led these activities and assumed the role of sustaining Korean cultural nationalism throughout the 1920s and 1930s. As Eckert points out:

These [academic, literary, and artistic] societies were at the nucleus of an emerging modern, national culture in Korea, and they nurtured the development of Korean national consciousness in historiography, literature, drama, music, and film. This represented an indirect form of resistance to the cultural assimilation policy of the Japanese. (1990: 294)

Therefore, the fight for national independence in colonial Korea was the struggle of not only political activists, but also writers, poets, and artists who attempted to give voice to a Korean national spirit. This was where the modern Korean theatre movement and translated Irish drama were situated.

As the ‘cultural renaissance’ emerged with the Saito’s Cultural Policy, the modern Korean theatre movement began as part of the Korean cultural movement and many dramas were translated and imported. Thus, the modern Korean theatre

movement and translated drama could not avoid the influence of Korean cultural nationalism. Its course leaned towards the national consciousness and identity formation.

The media that assumed the most important role to launch and spread the cultural movement were newspapers and magazines. As part of the Cultural Policy, Governor-General Saito also relaxed publication controls and issued permits for vernacular newspapers and magazines. At the declaration of the permission, application was made for over sixty kinds of newspapers and magazines. Regarding newspapers, the Government-General permitted the publication of only three Korean-run civilian newspapers: *Dong-A Ilbo* (Dong-A daily), *Chosun Ilbo* (Chosun daily) and *Sisa Sinmun* (Sisa daily) in 1920. The purpose of this switch in policy from the ban on the press was as follows: firstly, the Japanese wanted to curry favour with the Korean people after experiencing strong opposition to their harsh rule; secondly, they could gain an insight into the movement of the Korean people's thought through newspapers. They had received no warning of the March First Independence Movement because of the press ban during the military dictatorial policy. However, contrary to the aim of the Japanese colonisers, Korean nationalists used these newspapers to develop their nationalistic movements.

In addition to the three dailies, mass-circulation magazines emerged in the 1920s. In particular, magazines such as *Gaebyeok* (Creation of the World), *Sinsaenghwal* (New Life), *Dongmyeong* (Eastern Light), *Sincheonji* (New World) and *Joseonjigwang* (Light of Korea) were granted permission to deal with current affairs. During this period, literary magazines such as *Pyeheo* (Ruins) and *Baekjo* (Swan) appeared after a similar magazine *Changjo* (Creation) was published for the first time in 1919 and together they launched the *Sinmunhak* (New Literature)

Movement.²⁶

During the 1920s and 1930s, these newspapers and magazines became the means by which cultural nationalism evolved. They were not only vehicles for spreading anti-colonial thought, but also the means of introducing foreign radical ideas. Given that no political activities were allowed, these media played a vital role in inciting the Korean people to make a stand against colonialism. They publicised the goals, ideological orientation, and activities of various organizations, such as political, social, or educational bodies, and they concentrated their efforts on the national movement through the new cultural movement since they were not allowed to mount a political campaign. They featured essays on social problems, novels, short stories, poetry, and translations, as well as international news and political cartoons, and launched a drive in the field of literature, art, music, theatre, film, science, and so on. As Eckert remarks, “Daily reading of either newspaper was *de rigueur* for any informed citizen” (1990: 288). Irish drama including Sean O’Casey was also introduced and imported through these media.

However, this cultural movement was not without constraints. As Kim Yong-jick points out, the cultural nationalists’ struggle always involved the problem of censorship and they had to pass an elaborate system of prepublication censorship for which responsibility was with a new office within the colonial police system, the High Police (*Koto keisatsu*) (2006: 216). Under the Newspaper and Publication Laws, daily newspapers had to pass the prepublication inspection and all magazines and books had to be submitted to the censor prior to distribution. They had to suffer warnings, deletions, suspension, confiscation and, in the most serious cases, a

²⁶ The *Sinmunhak* Movement contributed to the Korean literary world by breaking free from the conventions of the Enlightenment Literature in the 1910s of which representative writers were Yi Gwang-su and Choe Nam-seon, establishing a colloquial style and introducing a new pattern of literature, such as realism.

publication ban. Furthermore, authors and publishers could suffer jail sentences for thought crimes. For example, between 1920 and 1929, the *Chosun Ilbo* went through 318 cases of confiscation and 4 cases of suspension and the *Dong-A Ilbo* suffered 299 cases of confiscation and 2 cases of suspension (Bak G. 1986: 307). Magazines also suffered tough censorship. The *Gaebyeok*, which was granted a permit to publish under the Newspaper Law on 20 May 1920, for example, experienced 34 sales bans, 1 suspension, and 1 monetary penalty until its permanent suspension of publication on 1 August 1926.

The field of Korean theatre also became a site for the cultural movement. Firstly, reflections on the colonisers' *sinpa* theatre were voiced by intellectuals and drama practitioners. Korean intellectuals and drama practitioners criticised *sinpa* by adopting the same Manichean opposition that the colonisers had used to suppress traditional Korean theatre. They described *sinpa* theatre in a negative way, creating an image of it as an immoral and corrupting influence. In his article 'Theatre and Society' (1920), Yun Baek-nam argued that *sinpa* theatre companies exerted a bad influence on Korean society. Mentioning the Yim Seong-gu and Yi Gi-se theatre groups as representative theatre companies of the day, he pointed out that Yim's theatre group portrayed the cruel, vulgar, immoral and evil aspects of society to meet the low tastes of the masses and Yi's theatre group also staged low-quality performances, and thus was unworthy of mention (*Dong-A Ilbo* 4-16 May 1920). An article published in the *Dong-A Ilbo* in 1921 showed the same attitude towards *sinpa* theatre:

근래 몇해 이래로 다시 세계의 풍조에 따라서 신파라는 연극이
발성하였으나 사회에 동정도 없고 다만 몇 개의 저급한
연극단이 경성에 있어서 신파연극단이니 무엇이니 하여

가치없는 유희를 규칙없이 흥행하는 까닭에 도리어 연극이라는 교화운동으로 하여금 악평을 받게 되었는데 바. (*Dong-A Ilbo* 15 Oct. 1921)²⁷

During recent years, the theatre called *sinpa* has flourished as the current trend in Korea to suit the taste of the world, but it has not hailed from Korean society. Just a few theatre companies for lowbrows in Seoul staged worthless entertainments without any systematic knowledge, which only leads theatre, a kind of educational instrument, to gain a bad reputation.

Reviewing the Korean theatre world of 1923, Gim Jeong-jin, one of the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement, denied the existence of *sinpa* theatre itself, saying that theatre companies had not existed in Korea, in a strict sense, because they did not show any physical or artistic achievements (1923b).

Against this social background, two groups of people who sought to alter the form of the theatre specific to Korea - that is, *sinpa* - appeared. The first group comprised traditional Korean theatre practitioners. With the spread of the national consciousness and an understanding of their traditional culture among the Korean people after the March First Independence Movement, Korean nationalist newspapers and theatre practitioners sought to revive their traditional theatre, which had been almost eradicated by the colonisers' policies (Yu M. 2001: 65). The other group that sought to subvert *sinpa* was a new generation group that had had no prior relation to Korean theatre. They launched the *singeuk* (a new drama) movement, or

²⁷ When I quote from old Korean texts, I use modernised Korean orthography for the convenience of the reader except when the archaic effect is necessary for the reader.

the modern Korean theatre movement, in order to establish a modern national theatre and, ultimately, to recover national independence.

1.3.2. Leaders of the Modern Korean Theatre Movement

Who formed the new generation group that sought to replace *sinpa* with a new form of theatre? According to Gouanvic (2005), linking social groups with a certain genre is crucial because the struggle for a certain genre is concerned with types of text that relate to the interests of certain groups occupying certain positions in the field. The leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement were Korean students at Japanese colleges who had gone to Japan because access to college and university education was limited in colonial Korea.

The education system in colonial Korea did not allow for any higher education, such as college or university level. Thus, many intellectuals who wanted to go into higher education went to Japan and subsequently became the leaders of the cultural nationalist movement during the 1920s and 1930s after their return to Korea (Eckert 1990: 264).

The modern Korean theatre movement was launched by these intellectuals, and Irish drama was imported by them as part of the theatre movement. While they studied in Japan, Korean intellectuals had opportunities to study radical thoughts and to watch the Japanese new theatre movement that were not allowed or possible within Korea. These experiences offered a catalyst for them to launch the modern Korean theatre movement. In particular, the Japanese modern theatre movement provided a model for the modern Korean theatre movement. Many leaders of the Korean theatre movement drew inspiration from the Japanese theatre movement: for example, Hyeon Cheol, a drama critic and playwright, studied theatre under Shimamura Hogetsu, an active member of the *Shingeki* (Japanese modern theatre)

movement,²⁸ before he came back to Korea to launch the modern theatre movement (Yi D. 1981: 96); Hong Hae-seong worked as an actor of the Tsukiji Little Theatre, the centre of the Japanese modern theatre movement (Jo Y. 1982: 202-03); and Yu Chi-jin frequented the Tsukiji Little Theatre to study theatre (Yu C. 1993c: 90-92).

College students in Tokyo were involved in the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe, which launched the first modern theatre movement, and the Towolhoe (Earth-Moon Association), a leading theatre company during the 1920s.²⁹ Later, Korean intellectuals from almost all fields of society came to be involved in the modern theatre movement. The leading lights of colonial Korea, such as scholars, professors, journalists and writers, were involved in the Geukyesul Yeonguhoe (Theatre Arts Research Association, hereafter the GeukYeon), which became the central Korean theatre company and had a great influence throughout the 1930s. Most of this company's leading lights had studied in Japan.

Thus, the modern Korean theatre movement was not restricted to the field of the theatre. It was a national movement in which almost all Korean intellectuals participated. This meant that the social concept of theatre changed: until this time, Korean theatre, whether in its traditional form or as the colonisers' theatre, had been disregarded and criticised by Korean intellectuals. Traditionally, Korean theatre was excluded from being considered as a literary genre, or was considered unworthy of intellectual or academic treatment. Most Korean intellectuals treated Korean theatre as merely lowbrow entertainment. However, the interest of Korean intellectuals signalled a change in the function of the theatre: now the theatre became an

²⁸ *Shingeki* was the origin of the Korean term *singeuk*.

²⁹ The Towolhoe staged the most Irish dramas during the colonial period: *The Gods of the Mountain* by Lord Dunsany in July 1924, *Fame and the Poet* by Lord Dunsany in April 1925, and *In the Shadow of the Glen* by J.M. Synge in April 1925.

indispensable part of the cultural repertoire of Korean society, and their involvement contributed to the elevated position of the theatre. The purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement was concerned with the interests of Korean intellectuals under colonialism and it was natural that Korean intellectuals were interested in the independence of their country. The theatre movement evolved not only through the stage, but also through magazines, newspapers, lectures and academies.

1.3.3. Purpose of the Modern Korean Theatre Movement

The fact that the modern Korean theatre movement was launched by Korean college students in Japan meant that the movement gained momentum from Japan. The Japanese modern theatre movement was launched in 1909 - twelve years earlier than that of Korea - under the influence of European realistic drama, such as that written by Ibsen and Zola, and culminated in 1924 with the opening of the Tsukiji Little Theatre (1924-29). The purpose of the movement was to modernise theatre, that is, to establish a 'new theatre' - realistic style performances that could deal with contemporary social issues (Yi D. 1981: 96-126). Korean students at Japanese universities were both directly and indirectly influenced by the movement, but the purpose of their theatre movement was different from that of the Japanese theatre movement. The colonial situation of their country directed the course of their movement towards a political end. The articles on theatre published during the Korean theatre movement show the ideology and the Korean intellectuals' motivation in creating the modern Korean theatre movement. Articles related to the motivation of modern Korean theatre were written mostly by leaders of the Korean theatre movement, including Yun Baek-nam, Hyeon Cheol, Gim Jeong-jin, Gim U-jin, Hong Hae-seong and Yu Chi-jin. Their views of theatre can be considered as

representing the views of the movement. The following discusses their views as expressed in articles in chronological order.

Yun Baek-nam's '*Yeongeuk-gwa Sahoe* (Theatre and Society)' (1920) was the first article on theatrical theory. In this article, he defined theatre as the artistic method most required in our times, and the most effective way to educate the people. Then, he categorised theatre into Greek, Anglo-American and European forms, and argued that the ways of promoting the people's theatre should depend on the situation of each country, but that the intention of all theatre is the same: to encourage the spirit of the people and guide them in their new life. He emphasised the importance of culture as the foundation of civilisation:

한 社會가 참으로 文明하고 發展하였다 함은 草家가 石造로
변하고 ... 이는 文明의 半面이오 全體가 아니다. 文明의 根本的
精神을 把握하여 自己나라 自己 民族生活 要求에 適切な 精神的
文明이 基調가 되지 못할진대, 그 文明은 畢竟, 砂丘上에 建設된
一箇의 蜃氣樓라 말할 수 있다. (Yun B. 1920)

Civilisation and development of a society cannot be measured against changes from straw-roofed houses to stone houses. ... They alone do not compose civilisation: they are just one side of civilisation. Without the foundation of culture required by each country and nation, the civilisation is like a mirage built on sand.

Therefore, he suggested that Korea needed a theatre of its own that would lead the national culture towards a flourishing civilisation.

The social function of the theatre was supported by other articles. Hyeon Cheol,³⁰ drama critic and playwright, was said to have changed from following a career in medical science to pursuing one in the theatre in order to establish a “*gungmin-ui uijiryeok* (national willpower)” (Yi D. 1981: 97). In the article titled ‘*Yeongeuk-gwa Oin-ui Gwangye* (The Relationship between the Theatre and Me)’ (1920), he defined the social functions of theatre as catharsis, intellectual education, moral education, and the cultivation of refined tastes. He also argued that the stage is a live republic of the literature and history of a nation at the same time and claimed that a national theatre is required to cultivate the national spirit and will. In another article, titled ‘*Munhwasaneop-ui Geupseonmu-ro Minjunggeuk-eul Jechanghanora* (I Advocate Korean People’s Theatre as the Most Urgent Cultural Project)’, published about ten months later, he advocated the development of a people’s theatre in order to educate as many people as possible in the shortest time. According to him, people’s theatre included three categories: a theatre dealing with people’s lives, a theatre of the people, and an instructive theatre for the people (1921a: 112). The first category was the so-called modern theatre, which included elements of people’s lives. Hauptman, Gorky and Ibsen, whose themes were the lives of labourers, the humble and farmers, were included in this category. The second category referred to a theatre created or shared by the people, and the third category referred to the educational theatre. Here “*minjung* (the people)” had a different meaning devoid of connotations of class. According to Hyeon, “the people” meant Koreans in general, regardless of their class or residence: It included aristocrats, general citizens, common people and farmers (ibid.: 112). Therefore, Hyeon’s people’s theatre can be considered to be a

³⁰ Hyeon sought to spread modern theatre and train playwrights and actors by establishing the Arts Academy (1920), the Dongguk Cultural Association (1923) and the Joseon Actors School (1924) (Choe U. 2003: 297).

Korean national theatre. In this context, he supported the theatre as a means of stimulating national willpower and a national awakening:

演劇 意志說에 國民의 意志力이 發達되지 못한 나라에는 演劇이 發達되지 못하였다고 하였고 意志力이 없는 나라는 모두가 亡國이라고 하였다 ... 더구나 十年이나 二十年이나 또는 一平生에 生을 凝縮하고 洗練하여 우리 民衆에게 暗示를 주어 스스로 自覺力이 생기게 할 것이 그 무엇인고? 演劇 그것이 이러한 힘을 가진 것이다. (Hyeon C. 1927: 51-52)

The view about the theatre willpower says that there is no developed theatre in a country without a strong national will, and such a country will face national ruin. ... What can bring a self-awakening of the nation in ten or twenty years or throughout the life of the Korean people by presenting a condensed and refined life alluding to the life of the Korean people? It is theatre.

Against this background, he compared activities of the theatre companies and practitioners to those of a military division protecting their country: if defeated, they would return home dead. The duty of the theatre companies and practitioners was no less crucial than that of soldiers, and sometimes required sacrifice; their duty was not just entertainment (1921b). He defined the modern Korean theatre movement not just as a part of an artistic movement, but as a social and nationalist movement (1922 and 1927).

Gim U-jin, an initiator of the modern Korean theatre movement, and Hong Hae-seong, one of the leaders of the movement, had the same view of theatre. In the article titled '*Uri Singeukundong-ui Cheotgil* (The First Step toward the Modern

Korean Theatre Movement)' (1926), which they co-authored, they pointed out that the modern Korean theatre movement was important to the life of the Korean people, saying the theatre is the school of society. In another article, Hong argued that a nation without theatre is a psychologically ruined nation because the theatre guides the life of a nation (1929).

Gim Jeong-jin, who was a representative playwright during the 1920s, called for an ideological movement to tackle difficult realities and emphasised theatre as the most effective way. He focused on theatre as a means of national restoration:

新思想은 生の 衝動에서 넘쳐나오는 것이요 衝動을 第一
實質적으로 表現하는 것은 演劇이다. 그림으로 나는 藝術的
意味보다 實質的 意味에서 우리 朝鮮社會에는 무엇보다도
演劇運動이 가장 急務라 한다. (1923a: 20)

A new ideology comes from the impulse to live and the theatre reveals the impulse most in substance. I think it is of the most urgent necessity for Korean society to launch a theatre movement in a practical sense rather than an artistic sense.

Articles published in the 1930s also emphasised the social functions of the theatre in relation to the realities of Korea. In his article titled '*Joseon-e isseoseoui Geukyesul Undong-ui Hyeondangye* (The Present State of the Korean Theatre Movement)' (1931), Yi Heon-gu³¹ emphasised the educational and enlightening functions of the theatre while stating the purpose of the Silheom Mudae (the Experimental Stage) theatre company under the GeukYeon. He argued that the most

³¹ As one of the founding members of the GeukYeon, Yi, along with other members, led the modern Korean theatre movement.

important duty of the Silheom Mudae theatre company was the establishment of *singeuk* modern theatre: the theatre company did not pursue commercialism and opposed all kinds of popular entertainment or popular tastes. This was because the theatre in a society such as Korea should become part of a cultural movement whose essential duty was to educate and enlighten the public. Therefore, Yi Heon-gu pointed out that theatre in Korea should seek enlightenment, resistance and criticism in favour of a future genuine national theatre (1932: 113).

Yu Chi-jin, who led the GeukYeon as a director, also underscored the educational function of theatre:

참된 연극은 결코 오락성에서만 그치지 않는다. ... 인생 생활의 미묘한 단편을 끌어서 무대 위에 재현시켜 그 재현적 미(美)로서 우리를 ‘미소시키면서도’ 한편으로 그 미속에서 우리의 나아갈 바 한줄기의 ‘교훈’을 암시하는 것이다. 이 교화성은 연극이 그 대자 (對者 – 관람자)에 대한 영향이 직접적인만큼 가장 대중적이다. (1932b, qtd. in Yu C. 1993b: 39)

Genuine theatre provides more than entertainment. ... By representing the delicate phases of life on the stage, it makes the audience ‘smile’ through the aesthetics of the representation on the one hand and ‘learn’ in the aesthetics on the other. The educational function of theatre is most popular since theatre is a direct experience by the audience.

Seo Hang-seok, a playwright and member of the GeukYeon, separated *singeuk* from commercial theatre, the aim of which is to make a profit. The purpose of *singeuk*, he argued, was to stimulate contemplation and self-examination among the audience by representing a slice of life and society on the stage. Therefore, *singeuk*

must be a live theatre, which communicates with the audience by embodying the spirit and the mode of the times (1934: 16).

As seen above, the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement saw theatre as a means of bringing about a national awakening, and accordingly emphasised its social and educational function. For this purpose, they wanted to represent the realities of the Korean people under colonialism on the stage. The motive and purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement was political rather than literary or artistic. These characteristics of the theatre movement affected the patterns of imported foreign drama and accordingly defined the position of translated drama. As a matter of fact, Irish drama, which was imported as part of the modern Korean theatre movement, was appropriated to serve the purpose of the theatre movement and can be located within the position of translated drama, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.3.4. Evolution of the Modern Korean Theatre Movement

The modern Korean theatre movement evolved around amateur student theatre groups, professional theatre companies and proletarian theatre companies. The importation of modern Irish drama was concerned with the former two groups. Modern Irish playwrights, including O'Casey, Synge, Dunsany, Gregory and Yeats, were introduced to Korea by these two groups. The proletarian theatre movement, which was launched in the mid 1920s and grew in the 1930s to agitate the peasants and urban labourers, will not be discussed here.³²

³² From the mid-1920s onwards, several proletarian theatre companies were organised: the Yeomgun (1923), the Proletarian Theatre Association (1925), the Bulgaemi Theatre Company (1927) and the Total Arts Association (1927). However, their activities were insignificant because of close observation by the Japanese colonial government. The Japanese colonial government prohibited the communist drive in any form (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 134-40).

The modern Korean theatre movement was launched in 1921 when a small group of college students in Tokyo organised a theatrical troupe and started performances throughout Korea. The group comprised the members of the Geukyesul Hyeophoe (Theatre Arts Association), an association that had been organised in 1920 by Korean students at Japanese universities, including Gim U-jin, Hong Hae-seong and Jo Myeong-hui, to study classical and modern Western drama. This group organised the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe and came to launch a tour of Korea to arouse the Korean people through theatre (Yi M. 1994: 150).³³ Their repertoire included two original Korean plays and one Irish play: Jo Myeong-hui's *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa* (*The Death of Gim Yeong-il*) (3 acts), Hong Nan-pa's *Choehu ui Aksu* (*The Last Handshake*) (2 acts), and Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate* (1 act).³⁴ *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa* was Jo Myeong-hui's first modern play, which he created in 1920 for the Korean tour.³⁵ *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa*, a three-act tragedy, dealt with the poverty, ideological conflicts, and nationalistic movement that students in Japan had to deal with at that time. Gim Yeong-il, a poor self-supporting student in Tokyo, finds a purse on the street and, after much internal debate, returns it to its owner Jeon Seok-won, a rich student. Later Gim Yeong-il receives a telegram telling of his mother's serious condition and asks Jeon to help with the travelling expenses to his home town. When Jeon refuses to offer enough help, a fight takes place between Jeon and Gim's friends. When the police come to stop them, seditious documents are

³³ Gim U-jin played a key role in arranging the performance tour. He paid all the travel expenses and costs of the production and led the Troupe as a director.

³⁴ The repertoires also included a violin concerto by Hong Ran-pa, arias sung by a soprano Yun Sim-deok and public lectures.

³⁵ Jo Myeong-hui was a member of the Geukyesul Hyeophoe and a close friend of Gim U-jin. Later, he worked as a novelist and poet.

found on one of Gim's friends. Gim and his friends are arrested by the Japanese police and Gim dies of pneumonia after being released from detention.

Choehu ui Aksu was a two-act adaptation from the author's novel with the same title, which dealt with the modern awakening of a Korean woman. The author of this play was also a composer. The *Dong-A Ilbo* introduced this play as one having a theme similar to that of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (27 July 1921).

The Glittering Gate was a one-act play that Dunsany wrote initially at the request of William Butler Yeats for the Abbey Theatre. This play, first performed at the Abbey Theatre in April 1909, dealt with unrealistic supposition within an imaginary realm, Heaven. It centered on two recently deceased burglars who found only empty night and stars when the gate of Heaven opened.

The Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe toured 25 cities in Korea for about forty days from 9 July until 18 August 1921 with great success (*Dong-A Ilbo* 19 Aug. 1921). Its unusual repertoire and realistic acting style received ovations from the Korean audience. The Korean audience, who had been used to the *sinpa* theatre style and had never before experienced this new type of theatre, considered its performance to be genuine theatre (*Dong-A Ilbo* 18 July 1921). The first performance in Seoul at the Danseongsa theatre attracted a full house in spite of heavy rain (*Dong-A Ilbo* 30 July 1921). On 28 and 29 July 1921, the Troupe prolonged its performances because of their popularity, and on 31 July, the last night performance in Seoul, no admission fee was charged so that poor labourers and self-supporting students could have an opportunity to see the performances and as an expression of gratitude toward the 300,000 audiences: so many people flocked to the theatre even after a 'House Full' sign was hung out that the police was mobilised (*Dong-A Ilbo* 1 and 2 Aug. 1921).

Even those Korean intellectuals who had been critical of and had kept away from theatre, joined the audience. The *Dong-A Ilbo* commented that the best

achievement of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe was to call together the intellectuals who normally never came to theatre (30 July 1921). Newspapers and critics commented very favourably on their performances. The *Dong-A Ilbo* commented that the Troupe showed a more consistent acting style and more strict attitude to the script than did existing theatre companies (18 July 1921). Their performances can be said to be the first efforts to subvert *sinpa* and they were first modern theatre performances based on the understanding of the reality under colonialism. Theatres before this Troupe had tried to appeal to popular emotions using an exaggerated *sinpa* acting style.

Among the repertoire, *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa* (a modern play specially written for the tour) won the greatest sympathy from Korean audiences because of its nationalistic theme. This three-act tragedy, which dealt with the sufferings of a self-supporting student was interpreted as representing the tragic reality of the Korean people under colonialism. The performance was suspended by the inspectors whom Japanese colonisers sent to the theatre, and the staff and performers were placed in a difficult situation because of the dialogue in the play: “We had freedom ten years ago, but not now” (Yi M. 1994: 151).

The successful performance tour of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe in 1921 sparked the modern theatre movement:

이 때부터 순업(巡業)의 신파조와는 다른 경향으로 일반의 연극열이 전국에 휩쓸렸던 것이다. ...각 지방 청년회, 교회 등은 연중 사업으로 소인극을 하였으며 도회 유학생의 귀향기에는 반드시 연극을 선물로 가져갔던 것이다. (Yim Hwa 1932: 344)

Since its [the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe] touring performances, the ardour of the general public for the new trend of the theatre, which sought

a new form of theatre that was different from the *sinpa* of provincial tours, swept the country. ... Local youth groups and Christian organisations organised amateur theatre companies and regularly performed for local audiences, and students who studied in cities produced theatre performances when they returned to their native towns as a gift for their villagers.

With this trend in Korean society, many *singeuk* theatre companies were formed by students in order to establish a new type of drama in Korea, including the Galdophoe, the Hyeongseolhoe, the Songgyeong Hakuhoe and the Towolhoe (Choe U. et al. 2004: 301-03). Among these, the Towolhoe, originally organised as a literary group by Korean students at Japanese universities in Tokyo in 1922, became a permanent theatre company after its second production. Inspired by the success of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe, the Towolhoe organised theatre performances during the summer holidays in order to subvert low-quality *sinpa* and establish a new theatre in Korea (Shin J. 1999: 34). They staged one original Korean play and three modern Western plays between 4 and 8 of July 1923 at the Joseon Theatre. The repertoire included Bak Seung-hui's *Gilsik* (one act), Eugene Pillot's *The Famine* (one act) translated by Gim Gi-jin, Anton Chekhov's *The Bear* (one act) translated by Yeon Hak-nyeon, and Bernard Shaw's *How He Lied to Her Husband* (one act) translated by Bak Seung-hui (Shin J. 1994: 150). *Gilsik* was Bak Seung-hui's first play. According to the author, this play was a realistic drama that reflected the awareness of that period: the abolition of old morals and conventionalities (Yu M. 2006a: 260).

The members of the Towolhoe took charge of the first production, from translating and stage setting to acting and directing, and Bak Seung-hui and Gim Gi-

jin took the role of the heroes. As a result, the production proved to be a failure both in its artistic achievement and at the box office because of their lack of experience in theatre (ibid.: 245). The comments on the first production of the Towolhoe were generally unfavourable. One of the reasons for the failure was that the actors and actresses had no experience of acting and lacked practical acting skills: Yi wol-hwa, who took the role of the heroine in *How He Lied*, forgot her lines during the performance (Shin J. 1994: 150). Although their performances were realistic in style, unlike *sinpa*, the first production was not successful, due in part to the selection of the repertoire – the plays were too difficult for the Korean audience to understand because of cultural differences (Sim H. 1929). Unfortunately, we cannot know anything about the translations, whether they were adaptations, whether they kept closely to the originals, or whether the quality of the translations was good, because the scripts or performance recordings are no longer available.

Debts and an impaired reputation resulted from the failure of their first production. Thus, more popular plays were selected for the second production: Wilhelm Meyer-Förster's *Alt-Heidelberg* (5 acts), August Strindberg's *Creditors* (1 act), Tolstoy's *Resurrection* (4 acts) and Shaw's *How He Lied to Her Husband* met with great success this time. Their realistic stage settings, costumes, natural acting style and colloquial dialogue impressed the Korean audience (Yi D. 1981: 129). The stage art was very successful with the involvement of a painter, Yi Seung-man, and stage setting expert, Won U-jeon (Yu M. 2006a: 245). In particular, *Resurrection* and *Alt-Heidelberg* were a hit: the audience said that they had never seen that kind of theatre and never heard that kind of story in Seoul; only the Towolhoe could achieve such success (Bak S. 1963).

Although the Towolhoe's performance style lay between *sinpa* and modern drama, the Korean audience evaluated their performances as new and realistic. After

the success of the second production, the Towolhoe was re-organised as a permanent theatre company under Bak Seung-hui and produced theatre performances on a regular basis. They staged translations and adaptations of modern Western plays and modern Korean plays. Irish plays, including *The Gods of the Mountain and Fame and the Poet* by Lord Dunsany and *In the Shadow of a Glen* by Synge, were also produced by this company. However, insufficient revenue at the box-office and a shortage of actors forced them increasingly to seek commercialism, sparking criticism from Korean intellectuals, and the group finally dissolved in 1926 (Choe U. et al. 2004: 302-03). Although they made a comeback performance in 1929, it was not successful. Bak Seung-hui, who led the Towolhoe, explained the failure of his theatre company, as follows:

첫째 돈이 없으므로 劇團의 背景이 되는 劇場을 所有하지 못하고, 演劇人다운 演劇人이 없는 것이 主要한 原因이지만, 觀劇層의 中心이 되는 中産階級이 加速度로 沒落하는 것이 무엇보다도 重要的 根本的 原因일까 합니다. (*Maeil Sinbo* 13 Jan. 1931)

First of all, we failed because we could not have our own theatre due to financial difficulties and we had no genuine theatre practitioners. However, the most fundamental reason seems to be the collapse of the middle class, who constituted the majority of the audience.

Unlike traditional Korean theatre, modern theatre in Korea evolved under the support of intellectuals and the middle classes. However, the Land Survey by the Japanese colonisers from 1910 to 1918 widened the gap between the rich and the poor and reduced the number of farm owners, which constituted the middle class.

The area of the tenanted farm, for instance, increased to 42% during 1910-20 (Kwak H. 2007). Bak seemed to have this point in mind when he related the reason of the failure to the collapse of the middle classes.

Gim Yeon-su, a drama critic, ascribed the failure to the loss of the motivation and passion that the theatre company had shown in its initial stages, as well as the lack of a theatre and of suitable drama scripts (Gim Y. 1931). The fact that translated dramas constituted the majority of the performance repertoire during the 1920s (Shin J. 1994: 155) supports his assertion about the lack of scripts. As seen above, complicated factors worked to cause the company's failure.

Despite its failure to establish a new theatre in Korea, the Towolhoe contributed much to the advancement of modern Korean theatre by providing the Korean audience with modern drama on a regular basis (Gim Yeon-su 1931). Before the Towolhoe, all *singeuk* theatre companies were organised on a temporary basis for special occasions and performed over a relatively short period. In addition, it was the first *singeuk* company to pay attention to the visual aspects of theatre, such as costumes and stage sets (Jang W. 2000: 88).

During the 1920s, there were also some *singeuk* theatre companies formed by existing theatre practitioners who had led *sinpa* theatre. Reflecting on their previous *sinpa* performances, Yi Gi-se and Yun Baek-nam organised the Yesul Hyeophoe (Arts Association) and the Minjung Theatre Company (People's Theatre Company) respectively. They sought to establish a new theatre, but their performances were not new in a strict sense of the word; they could not overcome *sinpa* (Choe U. et al. 2004: 303).

The modern theatre movement continued in the 1930s until 1939, when the colonial government forced the GeukYeon, a leading theatre company during the 1930s, to close. Amateur student theatre groups and the GeukYeon took the key role

in the theatre movement during the 1930s. Student theatre groups participated more actively in the theatre movement in the 1930s. They tried to educate the Korean people and to spread the modern spirit through theatre. Under colonial rule, they had to undertake a special mission:

조선의 학교란 사회인의 일원으로서의 수양을 닦음과 동시에 사회인의 일원으로서 활동을 요구한다. 그리하여 학생극운동도 조선신극운동의 일익으로서 참가하였다. (Ju Y. 1934: 124, qtd. in Shin J. 1994: 154)

Schools in Korea require students not only to cultivate their minds but also to function as members of society. Thus, the student theatre movement took an important part in the modern Korean theatre movement.

Student theatre groups actively staged a wide range of modern Western plays, including works by Dunsany, Gregory, Shakespeare, Galsworthy, Ibsen, Chekhov, Tolstoy and O'Neil, but their performances became impossible after 1936 because of the colonisers' censorship (Shin J. 1994: 162).

The GeukYeon led the theatre movement as a permanent theatre company and was the most influential organisation throughout the 1930s. This company was developed from the Geukyeong Donghohoe (Theatre and Film Club), a group organised by Hong Hae-seong, Yun Baek-nam, Seo Hang-seok, Yu Chi-jin and Yi Heon-gu in 1931 in order to hold a theatre and film exhibition. After this successful exhibition, the members organised the GeukYeon to deepen the understanding of the theatre arts among the people, correct the conventions of the existing commercial theatre companies, and ultimately establish a modern theatre in Korea in a true sense of the word (Yi D. 1981: 172). The founding members were twelve people: two

leading theatre practitioners, Hong Hae-seong and Yun Baek-nam, and ten young scholars who had studied at Japanese universities and had had no experience in the field of theatre.

As projects to achieve their goal, the GeukYeon established research and operation divisions as part of the company. The research division conducted research into plays, drama theory, dramaturgy and drama criticism from other countries and engaged in writing creative dramas and translating and adapting foreign dramas. The operation division engaged in educating the Korean audience, training actors and improving theatre conventions through public lectures, the publication of articles, reviews and a technical journal, *Geukyesul* (Theatre Arts), and stage productions. Among these activities, stage productions were the most notable. They staged translated and original Korean plays under the name of the Silheom Mudae theatre company. Performance activities of the GeukYeon may be divided into three periods according to their directors: the first period, under the director Hong Hae-seong, ran from May 1932 until December 1934; the second, under the director Yu Chi-jin, was from November 1935 until March 1938; and the third, under the name of the *Geukyeonjwa* theatre company, was from April 1938 until May 1939 (Yi Sang-u 1997: 288).

The GeukYeon made its successful debut in the Korean theatre world with its first stage production, Gogol's *The Inspector-General* (5 acts), translated by Ham Dae-hun. It was a satirical play published in 1836 and revised for the 1842 edition. It portrayed the deep corruption of powers in Tsarist Russia, and the greed and stupidity of human beings. The selection of this play was the result of the company taking into account the colonisers' censorship:

사실 당시에 레퍼터리 선정은 매우 어려웠는데, 그 가장 큰

이유는 일본 총독부의 강력한 검열 때문이었다. 그런데 우리들의 주장이 모두 달랐지만 한 가지 공통점이 있었다. 그것은 검열을 피할 수만 있다면 민족의 고통을 어떤 방식으로라도 짚어야 된다는 견해에서였다. 결국 우리들은 홍해성과 함대훈의 의견을 좇아 러시아 극작가 고골리의 「검찰관」으로 낙찰을 보았다.

(Yu C. 1993c: 105)

In fact, it was very difficult to select plays for the stage because of the strict censorship by the Japanese Government-General. Although each one of us wanted to stage different plays, we had one thing in common: all of us thought we should stage the sufferings of our nation in any way providing it would be possible to pass the censorship. Finally, we decided to stage the Russian dramatist Gogol's *The Inspector-General*, which Hong Hae-seong and Ham Dae-hun suggested.

The above remark shows that self-censorship played a part in the process of the company's selection of foreign drama. The performance was favourably reviewed: "wise selection of drama, great appeal to the Korean audience, serious and refined presentation, and the greatest achievement in the ten years since the productions by the Towolhoe" (Go H. 1932). In the second production, two modern Irish plays, Ervine's *The Magnanimous Lover* and Gregory's *The Gaol Gate*, were included in its repertoire (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 106). During its first period, the GeukYeon focused on modern Western dramas for its repertoire: it staged twelve translated plays and two original Korean plays. Korean playwright Yu Chi-jin's *Tomak* (*The Shack*) and *Beodeunamu seon Dongri-ui Punggyeong* (*The Scene from the Willow Tree Village*) were staged as its third and fifth productions.

This dependence of the GeukYeon on modern Western dramas, which were alienated from the reality of colonial situations, became the focus of criticism from commercial and proletarian theatre circles and made the Korean audience turn away from the theatre.³⁶ Thus, the GeukYeon focused on original Korean plays for its repertoire. However, this change in the theatre company's policy was, most of all, affected by the philosophy of Yu Chi-jin, who led the theatre company during its second period. Yu (1933b, 1935a) warned theatre practitioners against too much dependence upon translated drama and emphasised the need to stage original Korean plays. He said that Korean theatre practitioners should keep in mind that translated plays were nothing but a midwife to assist in the birth of original Korean plays, so they should be careful not to hinder the production of original Korean plays by depending too much on translated drama.

According to him (1933b, 1935a), they needed to perform original Korean plays on the stage because, firstly, overindulgence in translated plays would ruin actors' acting styles, and secondly, only original Korean plays could attract a wide range of the Korean audience who were alienated from *singeuk* (a new drama). However, the most important reason was to train Korean playwrights and ultimately establish a modern national theatre. Giving as examples the Abbey Theatre in Ireland and the Provincetown Players in the U.S., which, by staging their national plays, produced talented playwrights, such as Synge and O'Casey, and Eugene O'Neill respectively, Yu declared the need to stage original Korean plays:

³⁶ Yi Seok-hun (1936), a drama critic, mentioned five factors that meant the theatre movement lost the support of the Korean audience: translation of foreign dramas into poor Korean language, poor acting skills, immature directing skills, lack of acting practice and imperfect stage settings, amongst others. He added that foreign dramas selected for the repertoire did not deal with the emotions of Korean people.

우리는 우리 創作劇이 劇으로서 未完한 點이 있더라도 될 수 있는대로 레퍼터리에 取入시켜서 그것을 舞臺上에 具象化시키는데 있어서 우리의 劇作家에게 새로운 衝動과 慾心과 熱情을 주어야 할 것이며 舞臺로 하여금 그들의 道場으로 提供하여야 할 것은 앞에 말한 바와 같다. 그렇지 않으면 到底히 우리의 戲曲作家의 輩出을 期하기 어려울 것이며 드디어 戲曲界의 發展을 바랄 수 없을 것이다. (Yu C. 1933b)

We have to include our own original plays in our performance repertoire, even if they are unsatisfactory, to have our playwrights develop their own motivation, desire and enthusiasm for creation, providing the stage for their training, as I said before. Otherwise we would never produce our own playwrights and could never have a hope for our theatre.

In another essay (1932c), Yu pointed out the Irish model, especially the Abbey Theatre, for the production of nationalist plays and suggested that Korea follow suit. It is clear that the model of the Abbey Theatre, which produced nationalist plays under colonial rule, was one that he wanted to emulate.

The number of original Korean plays staged during the second period of the GeukYeon exceeded the number of translations: they made up ten of the seventeen plays staged, including Yi Gwang-rae's *Chonseonsaeng* (*A Country Teacher*), Yi Seo-hyang's *Eomeoni* (*Mother*), Yu Chi-jin's *Jamae* (*Sisters*), and Yi Mu-yeong's *Sujeonno* (*A Miser*) (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 106-07). However, during the second period, the Japanese colonial government tightened its censorship of scripts and treated the theatre company as a political organisation and the members as nationalists. In addition to suffering from strict censorship, the members of the GeukYeon were frequently jailed on charges of promoting public disorder (Jang W.

91). Thus, the company was forced to dissolve in March 1938. After its dissolution, the company was reorganised as the Geukyeonjwa by Yu Chi-jin and Seo Hang-seok. However, within one year, this company was also forced to dissolve in 1939, due to suppression by the colonial government (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 108-09).

This concluded the *singeuk* movement in Korea. After being engaged in the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese government passed the National Mobilisation Law in 1938 in order to put the national economy of Japan on a wartime footing. The field of Korean theatre was also restructured under this law. The Japanese colonial government founded the Joseon Yeongeuk Hyeophoe (Korean Theatre Association) in December 1940, and later founded the Joseon Yeongeuk Munhwa Hyeophoe (Korean Theatre and Culture Association) in 1942 in order to bring all theatre companies in Korea under their control. Japanese colonial policy, in its attempts to root out Korean culture and tradition, became more and more blatant and the colonial censorship of the press intensified. Japan did not permit Western literature, now the literature of its enemies, to be imported (Gim Geun-su 1970: 119-26). Only propaganda theatre was allowed under this strict control and *singeuk* could no longer be found on the Korean stage.

1.3.5. Influence of the Modern Korean Theatre Movement on Korean Theatre and Korean Audiences

The modern Korean theatre movement affected the field of Korean theatre in many ways. During the movement, the amateur student theatre groups, the Towolhoe and the GeukYeon, which led the theatre movement, produced translated and original Korean plays on the Korean stage. The main theme of the plays they performed was mostly human being's suffering: they tried to put the colonial situations on the stage and awaken the national consciousness, as the purpose of the

modern Korean theatre movement showed. As this movement went on and as a result of its work, the field of modern Korean theatre changed.

The most prominent change in the Korean theatre was the emergence of a new theatre form. Before the theatre movement, there existed traditional Korean theatre and Japanese *sinpa* theatre only, with the latter form dominating the field of Korean theatre. However, with the awakening of the national consciousness as a result of the March First Independence Movement, the Korean audience in Seoul, took no notice of *sinpa*. Accordingly, the position of *sinpa* theatre companies and practitioners who had occupied key positions was also degraded. Most of the *sinpa* theatre companies that failed to reform their acting styles, including the Singeukjwa, the Chwiseongjwa and the Hyeoksindan, had to tour provincial areas (Yu M. 2001: 201-02). The following article, which was published at an early stage of the modern Korean theatre movement, illustrates this situation:

今年中에 일어난 劇界의 運動을 좀더 內面的으로 觀察하면 두 가지의 傾向이 있었다. 그 한 가지는 金錢의 缺乏으로 所謂 興行業者間에는 慘酷한 打撃을 받았고 그 反動으로 俳優團(職業的)까지도 드디어 解散의 運命을 當한 團體도 있었다. 그러나 이와 反對로 一般社會에서는 演劇에 對한 要望이 幾分間 두터워진 傾向이 날로 많아간다. 今年中에 行演된 度數를 보든지 그 內容을 보든지 專門俳優들이 幕을 연 數보다 所謂 素人劇이라는 上演이 많았었고 또 內容이 좀 나은 것도 몇 차례는 있었다. (Gim Jeong-jin 1923b: 56)

Closer observation of movements in the Korean theatre world this year shows two trends: commercial [*sinpa*] theatre groups were severely hit by financial difficulties, which caused some of their (professional) actors'

groups to face dissolution. On the other hand, the social demand for the theatre somewhat increased among the common people. Amateur theatre groups exceeded commercial theatre groups this year both in the quality and the quantity of productions.

The position of the *singeuk* movement was also supported by the interest of Korean journalists in the movement: in 1923 alone, more than 190 articles concerning amateur student theatre performances were published in the *Chosun Ilbo* daily (Jang W. 2000: 79).

Another change in Korean theatre was the emergence of realist theatre and drama. The modern Korean theatre movement was concerned with objectively representing the Korean people and their life under colonialism on the stage, and, accordingly, steered theatrical plays and performances toward greater fidelity to real life, in contrast to the melodramatic *sinpa* theatre, which was the dominant form at that time. They were concerned with themes that dealt with current issues as well as realistic stage settings and acting styles. They sought to introduce those elements of realist drama to the field of Korean theatre, staging realistic foreign dramas, which were used as a footing for the creation of their own national theatre and plays. As a result, realistic theatre and original Korean realist plays emerged in modern Korean theatre. Many Korean playwrights, including Yu Chi-jin, Ham Se-deok, Gim Yeong-su, Yi Gwang-rae and Gim Jin-su, wrote plays based on realism.

As a result of the modern Korean theatre movement, plays came to be positioned as a literary genre and theatre as a cultural activity. As the intellectuals were involved in the theatre movement as audiences and leaders, the position of the theatre and theatrical practitioners in Korean society improved. Theatre practitioners who had been treated as entertainers now came to be respected as the saviours of the

Korean society by the Korean people. Accordingly, theatre and dramatic texts came to be established as a part of the modern literary genre.

Lastly, the most important influence on Korean theatre was the national awakening. With the theatre movement, many resistance plays were produced. Although the national theatre movement never flourished in the way that the Korean intellectuals hoped, due to the Japanese colonial government's strict control over Korean theatre after the second Sino-Japanese war, many resistance plays were created, including Yu Chi-jin's *So (The Ox)* (1934) and *Tomak (The Shack)* (1932) and Chae Man-sik's *Jehyangnal (The Memorial Service Day)* (1937), stirring up the national consciousness. These works could not come to grips with the deeper political issues of the times because of the colonial government's censorship, but their description of the suffering of the Korean people under colonialism was enough to awaken the national consciousness.

1.4. Position of Translated Drama in Modern Korean Theatre

The position of translated Irish drama during the colonial period was closely related to that of translated drama as a whole in the field of modern Korean theatre. It is thus important to understand the motives and position of translated drama as a whole, because it provides the wider context against which translated Irish drama can be understood. Essays concerning translated drama were published in magazines or newspapers during the colonial period by the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement, including Gim U-jin, Hong Hae-seong, Hyeon Cheol, Seo Hang-seok, Yu Chi-jin and Gim Gwang-seop. This section examines the articles to find out the motives for and position of translated drama as a whole in the field of Korean theatre.

1.4.1. A Model for a Modern National Drama and Theatre

First of all, the position of translated drama in the 1920s and 1930s was related to the field of modern Korean theatre. Although traditional Korean theatre had a long history going back hundreds of years, the modern Korean dramatic polysystem was still young. There were few Korean playwrights or modern dramatic works that the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement could employ to serve their purposes, namely, to subvert the colonisers' *sinpa* theatre and establish a modern national theatre. As discussed in earlier sections, Korean theatre was colonised just as it had begun to pursue modernisation. Although the colonisers' theatre that flourished in Korea during the 1910s may be said to have been a new type of theatre, as opposed to traditional Korean theatre, it was not modern in terms of its acting style and its theme.

Furthermore, from the perspective of the leaders of Korean society, it was just the theatre of the colonisers who had conquered the Korean people. The leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement thought they needed a totally new type of theatre, one that had a totally new concept, a new role and a new function, as opposed to the aesthetic principles of the coloniser's *sinpa*. This was where translated drama was positioned. The important role of translated drama was asserted by many Korean intellectuals and drama practitioners in numerous articles published during the 1920s and 1930s.

The importance of translated drama as a model for modern Korean drama was first pointed out by Gim U-jin, who was one of the leaders of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe. Just before the Troupe's performance tour, in June 1921, he published a dramatic criticism titled '*Sowi Geundaeyeuk-e Daehayeo* (About the So-

called Modern Drama)' (1921).³⁷ He said, in this essay, that the purpose of modern theatre is firstly to save and liberate human souls, and secondly, to awaken the vulgar public. He also argued that the idea of a new theatre should first be disseminated to achieve this purpose, and emphasised the advent of “the age of translation” in Korea, giving an example of Osanai Kaoru.³⁸

日本 新劇運動의 萌芽가 된 日本 自由劇場創設者 小内山薫氏は
白手로 翻譯에 着手하고 其責任의 重大함을 道破하였다. “劇場의
一隅에서 計劃하는 無形劇場의 第一로 着手할 것은 脚本이나
或은 演出法이나 眞實한 翻譯時代 같은 것을 日本劇壇에 興起케
하는 일이다.” 이는 ... 우리 社會에도 “眞實한 翻譯時代”가
當然히 到來할 可能性을 暗示한 말이다. (Gim U. 1921: 70)

Osanai Kaoru, a founder of the Jiyu Gekijo (Liberal Theatre), where the Japanese modern theatre movement originated, started translation from scratch and discussed the task of translation, saying of its importance, “the first task the immaterial theatre should tackle is to have stage scripts, or dramaturgy, or to have the age of sincere translation, or things with a contemporary flourish on the Japanese stage.” This remark suggests the advent of “the age of sincere translation” in Korea.

³⁷ This essay was published in *Hakjigwang*, a bulletin of the Korean students' society in Tokyo.

³⁸ Osanai, a playwright and stage director, played a central role in the Japanese *shingeki* (new drama) modern theatre movement. In 1909, he established the Jiyu Gekijo, imitating the Western European style. In 1924, he established the Tsukiji Shogekijo (Tsukiji Little Theatre), the first tangible *shingeki* theatre, together with Hijikata Yoshi and other members (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 97-98).

He went on to stress the importance of staging translated drama in order to produce great Korean playwrights, giving the examples of Germany, the Independent Theatre of England and the *Théâtre-Libre* of France.

Gim's view on translated drama was supported by Hyeon Cheol. After watching a performance by the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe in 1921, Hyeon expressed his opinion that staging high-quality translated drama would be more effective than staging original Korean plays of low quality in terms of producing original Korean plays because the latter would delay the advancement of dramaturgy and other dramatic techniques (1921c: 131). Gim U-jin presented this view more explicitly in an article titled 'The First Step toward the Modern Korean Theatre Movement', which was co-authored by Hong Hae-seong. This article was the first to discuss how to develop the modern Korean theatre movement. It consisted of four sections: A. Popularisation of the fervour toward modern theatre, B. Foreign drama and original drama, C. Training stage artists, and D. Little theatre and a membership system. In section B, Gim and Hong firstly defined foreign drama and original drama: The former was taken to mean theatre productions from advanced theatre companies in Europe, America and Japan, and the latter was taken to mean Korean plays created solely by Korean dramatists; the former was import, introduction, imitation or criticism and the latter involved creative writing and the creation of new life. They also argued for the need for a "new seed" to grow in Korea, where there was no tradition of a modern theatre, assuming the age of criticism to precede the age of creation:

오늘 朝鮮, 이때껏 참뜻으로 劇場과 舞臺와 演出家와 戯曲이
全無했던 이 荒蕪地 벌판에서 다른 곳으로부터 輸入해오는 새
種자가 아니면 무엇으로써 新劇運動을 일으킬까? 不斷한 새

生命의 創造에 있어서는 模倣이니 複寫니 輸入이니가 單純한 模倣, 複寫, 輸入에 그치지 아니할 것이다. (Gim U. and Hong H. 1926)

How could we start a new theatre movement in Korea today, a desert where there has been no theatre, no stage, no stage director and no play in a real sense, if we do not import a new seed from other countries? For the ceaseless creation of new life, imitation, copying or import will not end in just imitation, copying or import.

Therefore, they argued the need to import modern plays from advanced theatre companies in foreign countries as sources of “new life,” giving examples of modern theatre movements in Europe, America and Japan. They emphasised that the ultimate goal of this import did not lie in the import itself, but in the creation of “great new life”.

Their view of translation seems to be very similar to the ideas of Even-Zohar. According to Even-Zohar, the major procedures for making a cultural repertoire are “invention” and “import” and these are not mutually exclusive procedures, because inventing may be carried out via import (1997b: 357-58).

This view of the role played by translated drama during the 1920s was also advocated by other leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement during the 1930s. Gim Gwang-seop and Yu Chi-jin are representative of these views. Their thoughts on translated drama as a model for modern Korean drama also seem to have been the result of an influence from the Haeoe Munhak Yeonguhoe (Foreign Literature Research Society: FLRS). This society was organised in 1926 by Korean students in Tokyo for the study, translation and introduction of foreign literature. In 1927, they

started an organ known as *Haeoe Munhak* (Foreign Literature),³⁹ a literary journal, with the preface saying:

무릇 신문학의 창설은 외국문학 수입으로 그 기록을 비롯한다.
우리가 외국문학을 연구하는 것은 결코 외국문학 연구 그것만이
목적이 아니오, 첫째에 우리 문학건설, 둘째에 세계문학의 상호
범위를 넓히는 데 있다. (Jo Y. 1982: 158)

The establishment of new literature, in general, originates with the import of foreign literature. The purpose of our engagement in studies and research of foreign literature never lies in itself only. It firstly lies in the establishment of our literature, and secondly in the exchange of world literature.

This view of the role of translation must have had an influence on Gim and Yu because they were both members of the FLRS. Gim, as a member of the GeukYeon and the FLRS, published many critical essays during the 1930s, including five essays relating to the Irish dramatic movement.⁴⁰ He mentioned the need for translated drama for the first time in 1933. In an essay titled ‘*Joseon Geukdan-e Je-eon* (Some Suggestions to the Korean Theatrical World)’ (1933), he stressed that translated

³⁹ The achievements of this magazine lay in the extensive translation and the introduction of foreign literature to Korea for the first time. This magazine was discontinued after serial number 2: it was issued in January and July 1927. This magazine was succeeded by *Munye Wolgan* (Monthly Literary Art) and *Simunhak* (Poetic Literature). The former was launched by Yi Ha-yun and Bak Yong-cheol in 1931 and the latter was founded by Jeong In-seop, Byeon Yeong-ro, Jeong Ji-yong and Yi Ha-yun and others in 1930 (Jo Y. 1982: 158).

⁴⁰ Gim published as many as 26 critical essays related to the theatre from 1932 to 1939 (Yang S. 1996: 451). Five essays related to the Irish dramatic movement were: ‘W.B. Yeats - the Founder of the Irish National Literature’ (*Samcheolli* 1934), ‘The Establishment of Irish National Theatre: the Abbey Theatre’ (*Dong-A Ilbo* 1935), ‘The Establishment of the Abbey Theatre and Its Contribution to the Nation’ (*Dong-A Ilbo* 1935), ‘An Outline of Irish Literature’ (*Samcheolli* 1935), ‘A Brief Introduction to the Modern Irish Dramatic Movement: The Abbey Theatre’ (*Samcheolli* 1936).

drama was necessary in Korea because the nation had no theatrical heritage or worthwhile plays. In another essay related to the third production of the GeukYeon,⁴¹ he pointed out that the repertoire of the GeukYeon consisted almost entirely of translated dramas, due to the lack of original Korean plays or their low quality. However, he argued, the GeukYeon ultimately aimed at the emergence of original Korean plays that could represent and criticise the lives, feelings and ideas of the Korean people. These fragmentary comments on the relationship between translated drama and Korean originals were brought together in an essay titled '*Uri-ui Yeongeuk-gwa Oegekgeuk-ui Yeonghyang* (Korean Theatre and the Influence of Foreign Drama)' (1933). Gim Gwang-seop said:

우리에게도 假面劇 같은 것이 史的으로 보아 있기는 하였지만
演劇의 傳統이라고는 거의 없다 하여도 과언이 아니다. ... 最近
朝鮮에서도 劇藝術研究會를 비롯하여 學生劇에 있어서
놀라울만큼 外國劇을 上演하고 있다. 이것은 演劇이 없고 或은
沈滯한 社會에서 그것을 振興시키고 또는 樹立하는 唯一한
길이다. (1933d)

Although we have historical theatre such as mask-dance drama, it is within the bounds of truth to say that there is no [modern] theatre tradition in Korea. ... Currently, also in Korea, quite a number of theatre productions, including Geukyesul Yeonguhoe's and student theatre groups', have been of foreign drama. This is the only way to promote and establish a theatrical culture in a society where the theatrical culture is non-existent or stagnant.

⁴¹ '*Geukyeon Je Samhoe Gongyeon-eul Apdugo* (About the Geukyesul Yeonguhoe's 3rd Production),' *Chosun Ilbo* 2 Feb. 1933.

The above statement emphasised the “primary” or “innovatory” role of translations in creating a new cultural repertoire of the theatre in Korea where a modern dramatic polysystem was in the process of being established. As Even-Zohar said, translations can be “primary” (that is, innovative) and contribute to the elaboration of new repertoires when a polysystem has not yet been crystallised (2004: 200-01). Here “primary” activity refers to activity that takes “the initiative in creating new items and models for the repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1978: 7).

Gim Gwang-seop’s above mentioned essay was severely criticised by the literary critic Min Byeong-hwi. In an essay titled ‘*Oegukgeuk-ui Iip-maneuro Joseon-ui Geukmunhwa-neun Surip doel geosinga? – Gim Gwang-seop-ege Munham* (To Mr. Gim Gwang-seop: Would it be Possible to Establish a Modern Theatrical Culture in Korea only by Transplantation of Foreign Drama?)’ (1933), Min criticised Gim’s remark about the absence of a theatrical heritage in Korea and his dependence on foreign drama. Gim, in the essay directed to Mr. Min Byeong-hwi (1933),⁴² explained that what he meant by “a society without theatre” was that Korea had no theatrical culture that could be said to be modern. Regarding the dependence on foreign drama, he explained as follows, giving the example of Irish theatre:

演劇運動에 있어서 두 가지 길이 있음은 認定한다. 하나는
外國劇輸入, 다른 하나는 民族的 國粹的 立場에 선 自國劇
建設이나 이것은 愛蘭 演劇史에서 能히 엿볼 수 있는 史實로
後者로 因하여 劇文化를 樹立한 것만은 事實이다. (Gim Gwang-

⁴² ‘*Banbak-e daehan Jaebanbak: Min Byeong-hwi-ege Jum* (To Mr. Min Byeong-hwi: Another Refutation of a Refutation).’ *Chosun Ilbo* 13-15 Sept. 1933.

seop 1933e)

I admit that there are two ways to launch a theatrical movement: one is to import foreign drama and the other is to establish a national theatre with nationalism. One example of the latter can be easily seen in the history of the Irish theatre: It is true that Irish theatre culture was established based on nationalism.

He went on to explain that a purely nationalistic approach to a theatrical movement was not desirable and that it should depend on the situation of each country:

愛蘭에는 ‘예-즈’라든지 ‘그레고리’ 夫人이라든지 ‘오-케시’ 등 그 外 民族劇의 優殊한 作家가 있어 外國劇을 輸入치 않더라도 넉넉히 劇文化 樹立의 現實的 可能性이 있었으나 우리와 같은 社會에서는 우리가 意味하는 바 劇運動에 適合한 - 적어도 舞臺에 올릴만한 劇本이 缺乏한 - 다시 말하면 劇作家가 거의 없는 社會에서는 不可避로 外國의 優殊한 劇을 移入 上演함 外에 거의 길이 없다. (Gim Gwang-seop 1933e)

In the case of Ireland, having excellent national playwrights, including ‘Yeats’, ‘Gregory’ and ‘O’Casey’, it was realistically possible for them to establish their national theatre without foreign dramas. However, in Korea, we have no other way but to import and stage excellent foreign dramas because we do not have playwrights or dramatic texts that are suited to the theatre movement we intend, or to the stage, at least.

Gim Gwang-seop (1933e) further emphasised that the reason he valued the import of foreign dramas above everything else was because they were the most important teaching materials in the Korean theatre movement. Furthermore, in another essay, written in 1934, he made mention of specific playwrights whom the Korean literary world should refer to and study (1934c). He mentioned Shaw, O'Casey, H.G. Wells and Galsworthy in the English literary world, saying that they were famous throughout the world and were being studied in many countries, including France and Germany. In the final analysis, Gim said, the interest in and study of the theatre of the Korean people should lie firstly in Korean original drama, and secondly, in foreign drama, and the former could be said to be much guided by the latter (1936: 4).

Yu Chi-jin, a playwright and stage director, published the greatest number of critical essays on the theatre among contemporary critics.⁴³ His essays during the 1930s mostly focused on the theatre movement and he discussed the relationship between original Korean plays and translated drama in these essays. Unlike earlier critics, his discussion of translated drama was wider and more concrete. He warned against too much dependence on translated drama, specified the objectives of translated drama and discussed translation methods. In an essay titled '*Huigokgye Jeonmang – Beonyeokgeuk-gwa Changjakgeuk* (A View of the Korean Theatre World: Translated Drama and Original Drama)' (1933), he emphasised the importance of translated drama, but warned against placing too much dependence on it as a way to produce Korean originals. He stated that translated drama should take the role of midwife to produce Korean originals, focusing on the need to stage Korean originals, even if they were poor, in order to train Korean playwrights and

⁴³ He published 84 critical essays on the theatre from 1931 to 1941 (Yang S. 1996: 451).

ultimately establish a national theatre. In another essay (1934), published in the following year, he argued that the performance of foreign drama was more useful to train dramatists than to educate the audience. Furthermore, in an essay, '*Beonyeokgeuk Sangyeon-e daehan Sago* (An Opinion about the Performance of Translated Drama)' (1935), Yu detailed the technical advantages of foreign drama to Korean dramatists and practitioners. He first pointed out that there was discontent and complaints about the staging of foreign drama, while the demand for Korean originals was very high among theatre companies, literary circles and the public. However, he said, it was definitely necessary to import foreign drama for the time being. He went on to state that Korean dramatists and producers should not fail in their duties to "digest" foreign drama completely in order to improve Korean plays as soon as possible. He mentioned three points that Korean dramatists and producers should learn from foreign drama: staging techniques, stage language and its rhythmic play, and philosophical ideas. He argued that the numbers of stage productions of foreign drama would not guarantee the achievement of the goal, and the important point was how to ensure that the material was easy for the Korean audience to digest. Here, he argued, the Korean audience should be the criterion by which to assess the aptness of the texts: could they understand them, and were they moved and impressed by them? Therefore, he did not insist on literal translation and he also recommended adaptations.

As seen above, the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement regarded translated drama as models for the establishment of a modern Korean theatre. They sought to borrow high status texts from advanced countries such as Europe and America. Translated drama was not a means of entertainment, but a text for study. It was a text of stage language, dramaturgy, and staging techniques for Korean theatre practitioners and dramatists. As Even-Zohar pointed out, when a literary polysystem

is “young”, it is highly probable that it will depend on other literatures to create its own literature (2004: 201). As the modern Korean dramatic polysystem was still “young”, the leaders of the Korean theatre movement sought to benefit from the experience of other literatures, and translated drama became in this way one of its most important systems. Translated drama had a privileged position in modern Korean theatre and many such plays were staged during the 1920s and 1930s. The GeukYeon, for example, staged 24 translated works out of a total of 36 works, twice the number of Korean originals (Yi Sang-u 1997: 268).

1.4.2. National Awakening and Resistance

Another position of translated drama was related to the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement. The purpose of this movement was neither literary nor aesthetic; its leaders sought to educate and enlighten the masses through the theatre and establish a modern national theatre that could serve the purpose of the national awakening. The theatre that best suited this purpose was one that dealt with contemporary social issues. Therefore, the leaders of the Korean theatre movement argued that theatre should portray or depict the realities of the Korean people.

Gim U-jin and Hong Hae-seong stated that theatre in Korea should put daily themes before the staging of arts, life or beauty: they say that there’s a saying that “the theatre is a school” and a stock, a company, or shops or factories in our daily lives rather than the arts, beauty or life, should be the themes of the theatre (Gim U. and Hong H. 1926). Gim Jeong-jin, who saw the theatre as a means to promote an ideological movement, presented the same argument:

우리의 現狀을 - 自由없고 돈 없고 活氣없는 이 慘酷한 悲劇의
一幕을 舞臺에 上演케 하라. 그때에 비로소 우리는 우리의

恥辱을 더 明瞭히 더 쓰리게 깨닭을 것이다. 그리고 直覺的으로
그 舞臺에서 感得한 그 刺戟이 電氣 같이 우리 神經을 찌를
때에 비로소 우리는 反省할 것이요 그 反省으로부터 陽春의
再生을 얻을 것이다. (1923a: 19)

Let us stage our miserable tragedy - no freedom, no money and no life.
Only then will we more bitterly and clearly awaken to the realities of our
disgrace. And under a stimulus like electrostimulation, we will finally
reflect on our lives and find a way to be newly reborn from the reflection.

In this context, Korean intellectuals and theatre practitioners were interested in modern theatre, especially realist theatre. In fact, modern theatre, with which the role of the theatre became one of illumination that was often critical of traditional society and morality, and realist theatre, which uses a set of theatrical conventions with the aim of bringing a greater fidelity to the real life to performances, were inseparably related to each other: both dated from Ibsen's prose dramas of the 1870s. During the nineteenth century, urbanisation following the Industrial Revolution created a host of social problems, most easily seen in the slums spawned by the industrial towns. Unfortunately, governments were little disposed to deal with those problems, "for the memories of the French Revolution haunted Europe throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and governments sought to ensure that such an event would not recur" (Brockett and Findlay 1973: 2). Thus, a host of pressing problems were crying out for solutions: "It was this recognition that led dramatists in the late nineteenth century for the first time to treat the problems of the lower classes with the seriousness formerly reserved for the middle and upper classes" (ibid.: 3). Dramatists tried to "provide a truthful representation of the real world, ... based upon direct observation of contemporary life and manners" (ibid.: 7). Antoine's

Théâtre Libre in Paris (1887), Brahm's *Freie Bühne* in Berlin (1889), Grein's Independent Theatre in London (1891) and the Moscow Art Theatre (1897) were the theatres that spread realist drama. Korean intellectuals and theatre practitioners were interested in modern theatre because of its relationship to social realities. In this context, the term 'modern theatre' meant realist theatre to Korean intellectuals and theatre practitioners.

Gim U-jin (1921) stated that Korean theatre had to depend on the import of foreign drama in order to achieve the purpose of enlightenment of the masses and liberation of human souls, as Western modern theatre movements did. The materials recommended for import, he continued, were the German *Freie Bühne*, the French *Théâtre Libre* and the English Independent Theatre. Seo Hang-seok, who saw the purpose of *singeuk* as being to stimulate the contemplation and self-examination of the audience by representing a slice of life and society on the stage, also mentioned a number of modern theatres as examples, including those mentioned by Gim U-jin with the addition of the Moscow Art Theatre (1934: 17).

Furthermore, the realist drama and theatre that emerged from the recognition of social problems addressed the problems of the lower classes (Brockett and Findlay 1973: 2-8). This point attracted the attention of the leaders of the Korean theatre movement, who wanted to use theatre as a means of educating and enlightening the masses. Hyeon Cheol, who emphasised the need for a national theatre to cultivate the national spirit and will and advocated a people's theatre as a means of achieving the swift education of the masses in Korea, suggested three categories of theatre, one of which was theatre that dealt with people's lives (1921a: 112).

On top of this, Gim Jeong-jin emphasised the social changes brought about by realist drama and theatre. He mentioned the realist playwrights Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Gorky and Ibsen as playwrights who brought about social changes (1923a). He

pointed out that Dostoyevsky's and Gorky's realist dramas revealed the ugly realities, contradictions and conflicts of modern society, thereby causing the labourers, the most ill-treated class, to rise up, and claimed that Ibsen's character of Nora awakened women all over the world. He argued that the theatre was the most effective way to bring about these social changes because it was a place where large masses and people of all classes could gather together and share anger, enthusiasm and agony (ibid.).

Korean intellectuals' interest in expressionist theatre also revealed the same motivation: reflection on reality. Gim U-jin's interest in expressionist theatre also revealed this point (1925).⁴⁴ He explained that original Korean drama should be directly related to the realities of life, giving the example of German expressionist theatre. He argued that the reason German expressionism was able to flourish just after World War I was that the German people speculated about their realities with deep insights after their bitter experience of imperialism, capitalism, murder, starvation, and conflicts between individuals and society and the people and oppressors. Just as the German people had done, he continued, the Korean people should establish a literary art drawn from their lives and this art should be directly related to their lives (ibid.).

After all, to the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement, modern Western drama and theatre were a means of representing colonial situations on the stage, for the education and enlightenment of Korean people, thereby stimulating a national awakening and ultimately effecting changes to the reality of the Korean

⁴⁴ Gim U-jin was one of the leaders of the Korean theatre movement who were interested in German expressionist theatre. He also wrote expressionist plays himself, such as *Nanpa (A Shipwreck)* and *Sandoeji (A Wild Hog)* in 1926. Hyeon Cheol, Sin Seok-yeon, Gim Jin-seop and Seo Hang-seok also published critical essays related to German expressionism. During the colonial period, only two German expressionist dramas were staged: Goering's *Seeschlacht* (GeukYeon 1932) and G. Kaiser's *Gilles und Juanne* (GeukYeon 1933).

people's lives. Because of this function of modern Western drama and theatre, especially realist drama and theatre, many realist playwrights and dramatic plays, including Ibsen, Tolstoy, Gogol, Chekhov, Shaw, Strindberg and Wilde, were introduced through critical essays, translated texts or the stage.

While Irish intellectuals sought to create new images of Irish culture that would counter English stereotypes and serve Irish nationalist purposes by translating their own cultural heritage throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Tymoczko 1999), Korean intellectuals sought to depict their own images under colonialism on the stage by the translation of foreign dramas. Unlike the Irish case, the reason Korean intellectuals showed such interest in foreign literature rather than their own was that, under colonial rule, they had to establish a modern nation-state through a modern form of literature.

As in the Irish context, translation in the Korean context was also a site of resistance and nation-building. Therefore, translation activity in some cases was regarded by colonisers as subversive, so the work of some playwrights, such as Sean O'Casey, could not be staged in colonial Korea.

1.4.3. Survival and Reform of the Korean Language

The function of translated drama was also related to the Korean language. During the colonial period, the status of the Korean language suffered a shift through the Japanese colonial government's language policy to 'Japanise' the Korean people. The Korean language had enjoyed the status of sole official language since 1894,⁴⁵ when the Korean government promulgated Korean as the official national language.

⁴⁵ Kloss classifies the language status into six grades according to the governmental attitude to a language: sole official language, joint official language, regional official language, promoted language, tolerated language and discouraged language (qtd. in Bell 1976:182).

However, this status was downgraded to joint official language in 1904, when both Korean and Japanese began to be used in official documents.⁴⁶ During the 1910s, the status was further downgraded to that of a tolerated language. According to Kloss, a tolerated language is a language neither promoted nor proscribed by the authorities. Its existence is recognised but ignored just as the languages of migrants in the U.K. were (qtd. in Bell 1976: 182). Between 1910 and 1941, the Korean language was a ‘second language’ while Japanese was the ‘national language’. Korean was no longer a ‘national language’; it was just called ‘Joseon language’. The hours allocated for Korean language education in schools were also reduced. The curriculum for the Korean people shows how the Korean language had been effaced while Japanese language education was reinforced. In state schools, for example, the hours allocated for Korean and Chinese writing together were 6, 6, 5, and 5 hours per week for the first, second, third and fourth grade respectively, while the Japanese language was allocated ten hours in each grade during the 1910s (Bak G. 1986: 149). The hours for the Korean language were further reduced to 5, 5, 3, and 3 during the 1920s, while those for the Japanese language increased to 10, 10, 12, and 12 (ibid.: 213).

Although, officially, the Korean language enjoyed the status of a tolerated second language until 1941, when the ‘Joseon’ language course was discontinued and the status of Korean was degraded to that of “discouraged language”, in fact, the colonial government had increasingly begun to suppress it in the mid-1920s. For example, the use of Korean was rejected in court (*Dong-A Ilbo* 6 April 1921), and fines were imposed or corporal punishment was inflicted for the use of Korean in conversation in schools (*Dong-A Ilbo* 20 Mar. and 10 May 1925). The Korean people

⁴⁶ The Japanese language was treated as a national language in the *Seodang* Directives and appeared in parentheses with the words ‘national language’ like this: national language (Japanese). But in the Joseon Educational Ordinance of 1911, the parentheses and ‘Japanese language’ disappeared.

were compelled to use Japanese in their everyday life. As a result, the number of Korean people who understood Japanese increased from 4.08% of the total Korean population in 1923 to 12.38% in 1938 and 22.15% in 1943 (Bak G. 1986: 386).⁴⁷ In fact, most Korean population who could read and understand Japanese comprised Korean intellectuals. Thus, some intellectuals argued that there was no need to translate Western or Japanese texts into Korean, since many Koreans could read and understand the Japanese language and there were already Japanese versions of Western texts. Actually, the volume of texts translated into Korean began to decline from 1924 due to the high quality but cheap Japanese versions of Western texts (Gim B. 1988: 681-91). Given this situation, Korean intellectuals made every effort to save the Korean language and nationalist newspapers, such as the *Chosun Ilbo* and the *Dong-A Ilbo*, sponsored the ‘Korean language use movement’, although their efforts were harshly suppressed by the Japanese colonial government.

The leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement were also interested in the survival of the Korean language and they considered translation to be one of the methods by which it would be possible to save and reform the language. An essay titled ‘*Joseonmal eopneun Joseon Mundan-e Ileon* (A Word to the Korean Literary World Where There is No Genuine Korean Language)’ (1922) was the first to deal with the matter of the Korean language. In this essay, Gim U-jin expressed his concerns about the lack of a genuine Korean language in Korea.⁴⁸ Complaining that

⁴⁷ Number of Koreans who understand Japanese (Bak G. 1986: 386).

Year	Number of Koreans	Percentage
1923	712,267	4.08
1928	1,290,241	6.91
1938	2,717,807	12.38
1940	3,573,338	15.57
1943	5,722,448	22.15

⁴⁸ Gim started writing his diary in Korean in 1919. He had kept his diary in Japanese for four or five

magazines and newspapers in Korea were full of borrowings or translations of foreign words, he said:

나는 이까지 생각하여 올 때, 우리 문단에는 과연 ‘우리의 말’이 있는가 하는 기괴한 의문이 올라옴을 속이지 못하겠습니다. 나는 당장에 우리의 말이 없다고 판단하겠습니다. ... 완전한 문전사전(文典辭典)이 없고, 어맥문맥(語脈文脈)이 없고, 우리의 시가운률(詩歌韻律)이 없으면, 그야말로 거택(居宅)없는 부랑자가 화의호식(華衣好食)으로만 지내려 함과 같지요. (qtd. in Seo and Hong 2000: 235-36)

I wonder if there is truly ‘our own language’ in our literary world. I would conclude that there is none at the moment. ... There are no perfect grammar books or dictionaries, no context, no rhythm. Without these, it will be like a vagabond who seeks only to dress well and fare richly.

Gim stated that language is specific to each nation, and writing poems, novels or dramas while disregarding language is like walking blindfold. He paid particular attention to the language of the theatre, which provides direct communication with the masses:

장소와 시간의 일정한 제한을 가진 무대상에서는 언어는 반드시 그 당시의 관중에게 직접(直接)하고 친자(親炙)한 예술적 전달을 하여야 할 것이외다. 극작가의 직접하고 친자한 의사 감정의 전달에는 그 주위의 일상 사용하는 언어의 순화 외에 다른

방책이 없습니다. (qtd. in Seo and Hong 2000: 233)

The language on the stage, which is restricted by time and place, should be closely and directly communicable to the contemporary audience.

Dramatists should use everyday common language for this communication.

In this context, he revealed his interest in Irish playwrights. He gave Synge as an example, emphasising how he had made efforts to create a colloquial language, full of local colour, when he wrote *In the Shadow of the Glen*.⁴⁹ He said that Synge, whom he considered to be a dramatic genius, listened to maids' conversations in the kitchen of the cottage where he stayed while writing *In the Shadow of the Glen*. Furthermore, he said, Synge always listened carefully to beggars' conversations or folk songs near Dublin or ranchers' or fishermen's language on the west coast for his dramatic writings. Therefore, Gim, emphasising the importance of Korean as a literary language, suggested four schemes to save the Korean language and establish its modern usage: 1) the establishment of a Korean grammar and the production of Korean dictionaries; 2) the collection of legends, folksongs, and ballads; 3) the translation of foreign literary works; and 4) the popularisation of magazines and newspapers. In relation to the collection of legends, folksongs and ballads, Gim gave the example of the Irish Renaissance, which caused the cultural awakening in the Irish people.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Gim's interest in the colloquial language with local colour is reflected in his three-act play *Yi Yeong-nyeo* (1925). In this play, he used colloquial and local language.

⁵⁰ The Irish seized translation of their own cultural heritage as one means of reestablishing and redefining their nation and their people: throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries alike, translation was engaged for the purposes of nationalism or protonationalism, leading to both cultural and armed resistance (Tymoczko 1999: 21).

전세기(前世紀) 중엽에 더글라스 하인 박사는 켈-인(애란인)의 민요, 속요를 영역(英譯)하는 데 그 운율과 시적 형식을 채용하였습니다. 이것이 유명한 『콘나흐트의 연애가(戀愛歌)』와 『콘나흐트의 종교가(宗教家)』인데, 현대 애란 문인으로서의 양권(兩券)의 영향을 안 받은 이는 없습니다. ... 그 영향을 패트릭 콜럼이라는 현존 애란 시인이 다음과 같이 기록하였습니다. ... 애란의 젊은 시인들은 ... 민족적 본질과 특질을 보았고, 조국의 진상(眞象)을 보았으며... (qtd. in Seo and Hong 2000: 240)

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Dr. Douglas Hyde adopted the rhythm and poetic forms of Gaelic folk songs and ballads when he translated them into English. These are the famous *Love Songs of Connacht* and *Religious Songs of Connacht*, under the influence of which most contemporary Irish writers wrote their works. ... According to Patrick Column, young Irish poets ... found the essence and characteristics of their nation and faced the real state of their country through these two works.

As the Irish people had saved their language through the Irish Renaissance, Gim sought to save the Korean language, and furthermore sought to arouse a national awakening in the Korean people through a collection of ballads, folk songs and legends. In fact, the Irish Renaissance was the focus of attention among Korean intellectuals because of its relationship to the Irish language and its nationalistic aspects. An essay titled ‘*Inmolhayaganeun Toeo-reul Bojeonkoja: Aeran-ui Munyebuheung Undong* (Irish Renaissance: The Movement to Save a Declining Vernacular Language)’ (1923) showed the Korean intellectuals’ interest in the

revival of the Irish language. The essay, the author of which is unknown, discussed the efforts made by Irish intellectuals to save the Irish language. It says that although Ireland had a longer history than England, and therefore, a more glorious culture and literature, the Irish faced a decline in their culture, literature and language under a long period of English colonial rule. Irish intellectuals made efforts to save the declining Gaelic language, and in the late 19th century, the Gaelic League was organised to revive the Irish language. The essay continued by discussing the contributions of Douglas Hyde, Yeats, Synge, and Dunsany to make Irish literature known worldwide.

In this context, Jeong In-seop, a translator and leader of the Korean theatre movement, also expressed his interest in the Irish Renaissance. During his visit to Yeats in 1937, he talked about Gaelic as a language of creative working. In his essay, ‘*Gagyanal-gwa Oegukmunhak Yeongu (Gagyanal and the Study of Foreign Literature)*,’ Jeong discussed the influence of translations on the development of Korean language:

외국문학 수입에는 국어의 발달이 동반할뿐더러 모어 연구가 필요하게 된다. 번역문학이란 것을 생각해 보면 그 결과로서 번역은 여러 가지 부수적 효과를 볼 수 있는 것이다. 어느 나라를 막론하고 번역시기라는 것이 있는 것이요 그것이 어느 정도까지 발달된 때에 비로소 그 문학 범위가 넓어질뿐더러 세계적 비평안으로서 문학을 논하게 된다. 따라서 국어가 발달되고 창작 범위도 훨씬 넓어질 것이다. (1927b)

The importation of foreign literature entails the need to study Korean language as well as its development. Literature in translation produces many collateral effects. Every country has a period of translation, the

development of which makes the scope of literature wider and world-class literary criticism possible in the target culture. Therefore, translation will be helpful in the development of the Korean language and creative works.

Regarding the translation of foreign literary works, Gim U-jin mentioned the cultural benefits of not only the dissemination of the modern spirit and ideas, but also the extension of the usage of modern and colloquial Korean:

창작과 함께 번역이 일국(一國)의 문단에 주는 효과는 모든 고색(固塞)하여가는 정신을 흥분시키며, 언어의 사용법을 넓히고 어풍(語風)과 문맥(文脈)의 청신한 국면을 암시하여 줍니다. 외국의 시가, 소설, 극의 번역이 우리의 빈약하고도 근본 없는 문단에 대하여 가진 사명도 결코 적지 않아하되다. (qtd. in Seo and Hong 2000: 242)

Translations together with original works stir up the modern spirit in the literary world, extend the usage of a language and reveal new aspects, nuances and contexts of that language. Translations of foreign poetry, novels and dramas will have the same effects on our literary world, which is poor in its substance.

Yu Chi-jin was also interested in translation as a means of establishing the usage of the Korean language. He emphasised the role of the theatre in the development of a national language:

近代에 와서는 劇場은 言語의 訓練所가 되고 그 試驗管이 되고 그 社交室이 된 것이다. 演劇에 있어서 한 마디 말은 처음에 戲曲으로서 机上에서 文字로 討議되고 다시 그 다음에 俳優의 藝術分野로서 舞臺에서 實際 訓練을 받는다. 이 때문에 演劇의 말은 小說, 詩等의 文字藝術에서 보다도 더 重要的 修道와 洗鍊을 받고 더 重要的 役割을 行使하는 것이라 하겠다. (Yu C. 1938)

Modern theatre has become a training school, test tube and social hall for language. Stage language is developed at first through writers on the desk and then actors on the stage. Therefore, stage language is more cultivated and refined than the language of novels or poems and, hence, plays more important roles.

He then gave the examples of Shakespeare, who made possible the extensive vocabulary and delicate usage of the English language, and the Irish Celtic language revival movement. It seems that Yu had colloquialism in mind when he mentioned “stage language”. He thought stage language could be more refined because it is filtered through two stages: writers and actors. This may be true in some way. In this context, he thought that the modern usage of the Korean language could be extended through the translation of foreign drama to be staged. In an essay titled ‘An Opinion about the Performance of Translated Drama’ (1935), he emphasised the necessity of the translation of foreign dramas to raise the standard of Korean drama. Through translation, he argued, Korean dramatists should learn colloquialism and the rhythm of a language. Given that the Korean language as a representative of the Korean national identity was about to disappear, the translation of foreign drama in Korea was a process of identity formation.

As seen above, the purpose of translated drama in the field of Korean theatre was threefold: innovation, subversion and the formation of a national identity. This purpose was formed in relation to the modern Korean theatre movement.

Accordingly, the translated drama in Korean theatre under colonialism leaned toward rather political purposes. The position of translated Irish drama in general and Sean O'Casey in particular should be understood in this larger context.

1.5. Conclusion

Before the colonisation of 1910, Korean theatre seeks a new type of theatre, which is different from its traditional theatre and the modernisation efforts come to be influenced by Japanese colonial policies as Korea is colonised in 1910. Korean theatre under colonialism shows the coexistence of and struggle for the central position in Korean theatre among three types of theatre: traditional, *sinpa* and a new type of Western style theatre. These phenomena were the product of inter- and intra-relations of Korean polysystems: the relations of the Korean dramatic polysystem to the coloniser's political polysystem and the Korean ideological polysystem, and the relations of the Korean ideological system to the coloniser's political system.

During the first decade after colonisation, the interference of the coloniser's political system, namely, the coloniser's institutions to uproot Korean ethnicity, together with some Korean people who wanted to modernise Korean theatre through *sinpa* boosted *sinpa* to the central position while pushing traditional Korean theatre to the periphery.

During the 1920s and 30s, the Korean ideological system, which competed with the coloniser's political system, brought about the Korean theatre movement and the emergence of a new type of Western style theatre. During this period, cultural nationalism flourished throughout Korean society, and a modern Korean theatre

movement was launched under the influence of cultural nationalism. Korean theatre practitioners sought the establishment of a national theatre through a new type of Western style theatre, but they had to borrow a model from other countries because the modern Korean dramatic polysystem was young.

Thus, the interaction between the Korean ideological system and young Korean modern dramatic system characterised the position and functions of translated drama in Korean theatre. Translation activities came to have the position of “primary” activities, which could bring about the augmentation and restructuration of Korean drama repertoire by the introduction of new elements and also a function of national awakening and national identity. Thus, translated drama had the position of canonicity, which had potential central status and were accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles in Korea, by changing place with the central *sinpa*. *Sinpa* during this period was rejected as illegitimate by the dominant circles in Korea as exemplified by Gim U-jin and Hong Hae-seong. In their co-authored article ‘*Uri Singeukundong-ui Cheotgil*’ (1926), they defined *sinpa* as vulgar popular theatre, while they defined a new type of Western theatre as a highbrow theatre. As Even-Zohar points out, canonicity is no inherent feature of textual activities on any level; it is people in-the-culture who conceive of a particular literary model having such a status. By being rejected by Korean intellectuals, *sinpa* lost its potential position of canonicity and changed places with a new type of Western style theatre.

Chapter 2. Irish Drama in Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism

This chapter is concerned with the formation of Irish drama in Korean theatre under colonial rule. It examines why and with what purpose Irish drama was selected, which Irish playwrights and plays were translated and with what intention, and how and by whom the Irish plays were translated. These questions will be investigated in relation to the socio-political situation of Korea, the modern Korean theatre movement, and the “young” modern Korean dramatic polysystem. It is argued that Irish drama was appropriated by Korean intellectuals for political purposes and the purpose of its import was political rather than literary or aesthetic.

The socio-political background is briefly examined and then, by analysing the articles published in newspapers or magazines during the colonial period, the motive for the importation of Irish drama is sought from the ideological dimensions of the modern Korean theatre movement. The motive behind the choice of each play, the translation strategies and the responses to the performances of Irish drama are also examined and then the social trajectories of the translators of Irish drama are investigated in relation to the modern Korean theatre movement.

2.1. Socio-political Background

It was in 1895 that Western literature began to be translated into Korean.⁵¹ Until 1910, that is, before the annexation of Korea by Japan, western novels and poems were translated into Korean, but a large number of the translated works were historical, biographical and political texts (Gim B. 1988: 303-07). Korean

⁵¹ The first Western literary works translated into Korean were *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan, translated by Mr. and Mrs. Jas. S. Gale, and *The Arabian Nights*, translated by Jeong Sang-geun (Gim B. 1988: 152-53).

intellectuals thought they needed ‘practical’ rather than ‘artistic’ literature, which could encourage the public to face the reality in Korea at that time because they were confronted with a situation where they would lose their national sovereignty under the threat of Japanese and Western powers.

With the annexation in 1910, the so-called Dark Period began.⁵² The Japanese colonial government prohibited the publication of history or biography-related translations and confiscated and burned all such books because they thought their publication might awaken the Korean national consciousness (Gim B. 1988: 414; Bak G. 1986: 139). Only ‘artistic’ literature was allowed to be translated into Korean during the 1910s (Gim B. 1988: 414).

In the wake of the March First Independence Movement in 1919, the Japanese colonial government came to tolerate “cultural nationalism”. Due to these changes in the Japanese colonial policy, a larger variety of literary genres were translated into Korean and this number drastically increased during the 1920s. During this period, 671 literary works were translated, compared to only 89 works during the previous decade.⁵³ As the colonial government adopted a cultural policy, permission was given for nationalistic newspapers to be issued and 168 magazines to be launched. In particular, many literary magazines, such as *Gaebyeok* (1920), *Pyeheo* (1920), *Baekjo* (1922) and *Geumseong* (1923), promoted the development of literature, which motivated the import of foreign literature. The Japanese Government-General also played a part in the increase of translated works: it “forced Koreans to reduce

⁵² The first period of the Japanese colonial rule over Korea from 1910 to 1919 has been described as the Dark Period by Korean historians.

⁵³ During the second decade of the 20th century, 15 translated works were published in book form, 33 in newspapers or magazines, and 41 in *Taeseo Munyesinbo* magazine. During the 1920s, 151 British works, 65 American works, 68 German works, 100 French works, 127 Russian works, 126 Indian works, and 34 other works were translated (Gim B. 1988: 414).

their own national cultural activities and to imitate the Japanese adaptation of Western civilization” (Cho D. 1997: 121). There were other reasons for the increase. World literary patterns that were imported through the coloniser, Japan, instigated a literary awareness among Korean intellectuals and made them aware of the need to improve their own literature through the import of foreign literature. Furthermore, the increasing number of Korean students studying in Japan had opportunities to study foreign literature and a variety of genres. There had been an increase both in the number and range of people who were literate and, as they achieved higher educational levels, they wanted to experience foreign literature (Gim B. 1988: 415).

Against this background, foreign drama was also imported. The first translated drama was *Katusha*, the Korean version of Tolstoy’s *Resurrection*, in 1916 (Yi M. 1994: 321).⁵⁴ During the 1920s, the translation of Western dramas began in earnest. According to Gim Byeong-cheol (who was both a scholar and a translator of English literature), the number of translated dramas exceeded that of novels during this period (1988: 427). Translated drama was introduced through magazines or newspapers as well as on the stage, and both classic and modern dramas were translated. During the 1920s, translated classic playwrights included Shakespeare, Victor Hugo, Schiller and Goethe. Among them, Shakespeare’s works constituted the largest number, with 12 translations, 4 of which were translated from Lamb’s *Tales from Shakespeare* (Gim B. 1988: 428).⁵⁵ However, there were far fewer translations of classic plays in comparison to modern plays. During the 1920s and 1930s, modern plays from England, Russia, France, Germany, the United States, and other countries were imported: Turgenev, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Gogol, Chekhov, Ibsen, Strindberg,

⁵⁴ The translator of this adaptation is not known.

⁵⁵ During the 1920s, *The Merchant of Venice* (1920, 1922, 1924), *Cymbeline* (1920), *Hamlet* (1921, 1923, 1929), *Othello* (1924), *Julius Caesar* (1926), *The Tempest* (1926), *Macbeth* (1923) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1921) were translated (Gim B. 1988: 426-28).

O'Neill, and others. Works by Irish playwrights, including Yeats, Gregory, Synge, Dunsany, Ervine and O'Casey, and the German expressionist playwrights Georg Kaiser and Reinhard Goering, were also imported during this period.

However, the amount of translated drama, as well as translations of other genres, decreased rapidly at the end of the 1930s as the suppression and control of the press by the colonial government reached its climax. From 1937, when Japan launched the Second Sino-Japanese War, until 1945, when the Japanese colonial rule over Korea ended, the colonial censorship of the press intensified (Gim Geun-su 1970: 119-26). According to Gim Geun-su (1970: 126-29), there was a rapid decrease in the variety of magazines published during this period: the number decreased from 228 to 18 during the 1930s. Moreover, most of the remaining magazines were pro-Japanese. Nationalist or socialist literary works were rarely published while pro-Japanese literary works flourished. Furthermore, Japan did not allow the import of Western literature, which had become the literature of its enemies (Gim Geun-su 1970: 119-26).

It was not until 1921 that works by Irish playwrights began to be translated. Translated Irish dramas were introduced through publications, the stage, and broadcasting. After Lady Augusta Gregory's *The Rising of the Moon* and Lord Dunsany's (Edward John Moreton Drax Plunkett's) *The Glittering Gate* were first published and produced on the Korean stage in 1921, Irish dramatic texts began to be introduced. Although British works made up the greatest number of published translations throughout the colonial period as a whole, translated and published Irish dramas exceeded British ones during the 1930s when the modern Korean theatre movement reached its climax.⁵⁶ While the number of published translations during

⁵⁶ During the 1920s and 1930s, scholars who studied English or German literature, including Gim U-jin, Jeong In-seop, Gim Jin-seop and Gim Gwang-seop, introduced British playwrights and dramas in

the 1920s was sixteen for British dramas and four for Irish dramas, during the 1930s, the corresponding figures were eight for British dramas and thirteen for Irish dramas. Translated dramas were particularly the works of playwrights who were involved in the Irish dramatic movement, including William Butler Yeats, Lord Dunsany, Lady Augusta Gregory, J. M. Synge, and Sean O'Casey. The next section seeks to discover why these Irish playwrights were selected from among others by examining the appropriation of the Irish dramatic movement in Korean theatre.

2.2. Representation of the Irish Dramatic Movement

Irish playwrights who had been imported to colonial Korea were extremely varied, ranging from the fantasy writer Lord Dunsany to the much tougher realist writer, Sean O'Casey. According to Bentley, “even more than other arts ... drama is a chronicle and brief abstract of the time, revealing not only the surface but the whole material and spiritual structure of an epoch” (1992: 77), but it is difficult to discover why these particular playwrights were selected, because there seems to be no consistency in their themes or subjects. Some works, such as *The Rising of the Moon*, *The Gaol Gate*, *The Shadow of a Gunman* and *Riders to the Sea*, may be interpreted as being relevant to the Korean situation at that time, but some works, especially Dunsany's works, seem to be too remote from the Korean reality in that period. Normally, to work out the selection criteria, one would study the translators' prefaces (Bassnett 1991: xiii), but the problem in this case is that no translators' prefaces can be found.

It seems that one of the motives was because Irish plays were regarded as a model to be followed in the field of modern Korean theatre. Gim Gwang-seop (1935)

earnest. Of the British playwrights, Shaw was the most frequently discussed, because he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature (1925) and had visited the Orient at one time (Shin J. 1994: 205).

gave an example of Irish writers from whom the Korean writers could profit for the development of modern Korean literature. Yu Chi-jin (1933) presented the Abbey Theatre as a model to establish a national theatre. An Yong-sun (1933a), a drama critic, also suggested that modern Irish drama be the benchmark to which modern Korean theatre could refer.

What aspects of Irish drama appealed to Korean intellectuals and made them consider Irish drama a model for their future national drama? The only clue is that the Irish playwrights chosen were those involved in the Irish dramatic movement. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to find out the motive from the Irish dramatic movement rather than from individual texts. For this purpose, I will examine articles or essays that were published in relation to Irish drama under colonial rule.

Major articles on Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement began to appear in 1921 in Korea; they continued to be published throughout the 1920s and 1930s. During this period, more than thirty articles by twenty writers were published in newspapers or magazines relating to Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement, which represented all aspects of Irish drama during the period. Korean writers emphasised certain aspects of the Irish dramatic movement that they wanted to achieve in the Korean theatre movement, or sometimes distorted facts to serve their ideological purposes, as Jang Won-jae, a scholar of Korean literature, also pointed out (2000: 119). Korean writers' understanding and knowledge of Irish drama and the Irish people was constituted on the basis of similarity rather than any difference between the situations of Korea and Ireland.

First of all, Korean writers stressed an affinity with Ireland as a victim of colonialism. The experiences of the Irish people and the Korean people under colonialism were similar. News or articles on Ireland first appeared even before the

annexation of Korea by Japan and increased in number after the March First Independence Movement in 1919: in the three years from 1920 to 1922, 476 articles, including 10 leading articles, were published in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, one of the nationalist newspapers, in relation to the Irish political situation and the Irish independence movement. Likewise, almost all essays related to Irish drama mentioned the colonial history of Ireland and focused on the sufferings of the Irish under colonialism. In his essay on the Abbey Theatre, Gim Gwang-seop (1935a), a poet and drama critic, started his writing with the history of Ireland as a victim of invasions. He said that the saddest part of the history was that Ireland, being located near Great Britain, became a political slave of Great Britain. Another article on the Irish language revival (*Dongmyeong* 1923: 6) showed how the strong antipathy of the Irish people toward England emphasised the love of the Irish people for their native country. It also said that you should never be a homeless race (*ibid.*: 6). Some Korean writers, such as An Yong-sun, stated that the existence of an Irish national theatre was impossible because of the absence of political freedom:

愛蘭은 十二世紀 中葉以來 英國의 壓迫에 시달린 政治的 自由를
 갖지 못한 民族이었다. ... 英國의 專制抑壓은 極에 達하여
 愛蘭民族의 勇躍하는 熱情으로 하여금 一時라도 演劇藝術을
 享樂할 心的餘裕를 주지 않았던 것이다. 그뿐 아니라 世紀를
 거듭함에 따라 이 政治的的 專制는 必然的으로 그들에게서
 演劇에 對한 敏感性을 去勢하여 버렸으니. (An Y. 1933a)

Ireland has had no political freedom under British [colonial] rule since the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁷ ... The extreme despotism by England removed

⁵⁷ Korean intellectuals thought British colonial rule over Ireland started in 1171, when an English royal presence was established in Ireland. Henry II, the king of England, “could not tolerate the

any leeway to enjoy the theatre from the enthusiastic hearts of the Irish people. Furthermore, this centuries-long political despotism eradicated the sensitivity to the theatre from their hearts. Therefore, it is not surprising that there has been no Irish theatre movement (before the Abbey Theatre).

Regarding the despotism of England over Ireland and its influence on Irish theatre, An Yong-sun seems to exaggerate to emphasise the severities of colonialism.

Gim Jong, a literary critic, expressed a very private kind of emotions in his essay on the Irish Renaissance. After he described the history of the Abbey Theatre, he concluded his essay:

아베이 劇場이 創立된 지 今年이 三十年이다. 우리는 地球의
涯角을 달리하여 있는 同志 그네들의 健闘와 偉大한 勝利
있기를 滿腔의 誠心으로 祈願할 뿐이다. (Gim Jong 1930)

It is thirty years now since the Abbey Theatre opened. We wholeheartedly wish our comrades on the other side of the earth good luck and a great victory.

This affinity between the situations of the Irish and the Koreans aroused in Korea an interest in Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement as the product of a colonised people. Of course, the Korean people also had an affinity for other colonised countries, such as India, the Philippines and Vietnam. Articles on the political situations of those countries were published quite often. Korean intellectuals

possibility of an independent Norman state on his western flank,” and, in 1171, “came to Ireland to accept the surrender of Waterford and established an English royal presence in Ireland” (Boyce 1991: 29).

secretly sought to arouse the national consciousness, and ultimately strove for national independence, by publishing information about the situations in and independence movements of other colonised countries. Thus, during the colonial period, the Japanese Government-General prohibited articles that dealt with the independence of Korea in relation to independence movements in Ireland, India, and the Philippines (Jeong J. 1998b: 343). However, in those cases, the affinity did not lead to an interest in their drama. One of the reasons for that was that they were not European countries: modernisation meant Westernisation to Korean intellectuals at that time. Ireland was the only Western European country that was perceived as having both an early and a late colonial experience.

In this context, Korean writers drew special attention to the fact that the Abbey Theatre was the first Irish national theatre. Just as they considered Japanese *sinpa* theatre as being the colonisers' theatre because it had originated in Japan, they thought the thriving theatres in Dublin in the 18th century had no meaning in the development of Irish theatre because they were the colonisers' theatres (An Y. 1933a). True Irish drama, in their view, appeared only after the Abbey Theatre opened in 1904 (An Y. 1933a; Gim Gwang-seop 1936b).⁵⁸ It was true that, although Ireland had played an important part in the theatrical life of the British Isles, Dublin had long been a distant second to London as a theatrical centre; since the seventeenth century, the theatre in Ireland before the Abbey Theatre had been essentially a branch of that in England rather than a truly native institution (Brockett and Findlay 1973: 160). "The Abbey Theatre which opened its doors to the public in December

⁵⁸ The first step toward a native Irish drama was the Irish Literary Theatre, which was formed in 1899 by Yeats, Lady Gregory, George Moore, and Edward Martyn. This theatre evolved first into the Irish National Theatre in 1902 and then into the Abbey Theatre in 1904 due to the combined efforts of the Irish brothers, William and Frank Fay, and an Englishwoman, Annie Horniman (Hunt 1979).

1904 was the first Irish theater which was more than a provincial or colonial derivative of the London theatre” (Rubin 1994: 467).

Therefore, Korean writers treated Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Oliver Goldsmith, Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw as belonging to the British literary world and so excluded them from their list of Irish writers.⁵⁹

Korean writers’ view of the Irish people was also related to their colonial history. They sometimes described Irish people as having a poetic imagination, a mystical nature, humour, unyieldingness, or a non-cooperative nature (Gim Gwang-seop 1935b; An Y. 1933a). However, the language they used most frequently when discussing the Irish included words such as wanderer, vagabond, roamer, stranger, tears, lamentation or fantasy:

이 現實의 專制에서 그들은 精神的으로 放浪에의 길을 憧憬하며
바다 건너의 逃避를 追想하며 (Gim Gwang-seop 1935a)

They [Irish people] aspired to psychological wandering and dreamed of escape beyond the sea under the despotism of Great Britain.

그들 愛蘭人の 幻想의 追從과 自由의 王國으로의 放浪은 ... 그
歷史에 나타난 모든 精神的 또는 肉體的 抑壓과 苦痛에 참을 수
없는 必然的으로 結果된 後天的特性일 것이다. (An Y. 1933a)

⁵⁹ In November 1926, the first Oscar Wilde play was seen in the Abbey, ‘The Importance of Being Earnest’. However, Wilde was thought not to fit in with the type of Irish work considered suitable by the directors. “His plays, presumably, were too precious, had too many of their scenes set in English drawing-rooms, to warrant inclusion in the repertoire of a theatre with such an overtly nationalistic outlook and mission, although the Wilde humour could surely have been acceptable as Irish” (Rynne 1967: 85).

Irish people's pursuit of fantasy and wandering to a free kingdom seem to be the postnatal characteristics they acquired in the course of nature through physical and psychological oppression and sufferings.

Their interpretation of Irish characteristics was based on an active Irish break from imperialist oppression and mistreatment. Therefore, Korean writers understood, "Irish literature, which described these national traits, was closely related to the political path Irish people have walked in and represented Irish history full of tears and regrets" (Gim Gwang-seop 1935c). This understanding was also reflected in their appreciation of Irish plays. Korean writers interpreted Irish characteristics differently from the way they appeared in the original texts. An Yong-sun interpreted the works by Dunsany, Yeats and Synge in this context:

그들은 보이지 않고 알지 못하는 事物을 求하여 永久히
 渴望하는 民族이다. 던세이니가 『輝煌한 문』에서 嘲笑한 바와
 같이 그들은 죽어서 地獄에 있으면서도 亦是 그러한 追求를
 잊지 않는다. ... 예-츠의 거의 全部의 作品은 幻想의 追求이요
 어떤 心安의 樂土에의 憧憬이다. ... 『캐스린 니 후-리한』 같은
 愛國的 熱情에 타는 作品도 亦是 괴로운 現實의 桎梏에서의
 離脫을 企圖하는 自由의 王國에의 憧憬이라고 볼 수 있다.
 찡그가 描寫한 放浪性에 찬 愛蘭人也 亦是 長久한 世紀 동안에
 받은 抑壓과 虐待를 忘却하려는 積極的 離脫의 露現이다. (An Y.
 1933a)

They [The Irish people] yearn for the unknown and the unseen. As described in Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate*, they never give up the yearning even in the world beyond. ...Almost all of Yeats' works

described yearning for fantasy and paradise. His patriotic work *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* ... also can be interpreted as having described the yearning for a free kingdom through the efforts to break the fetters of the painful reality.⁶⁰ Wandering Irish people portrayed in Synge's works are also the product of the active efforts to forget the oppression and maltreatment of hundreds of years.

Likewise, in the opinion of Korean writers, the Irish cultural movement, part of which was the Irish dramatic movement, was a form of resistance to colonial rule:

英本國의 高壓的 政治는 民族을 달리한 그들에게 無限한 苦吟과 怨恨을 주었다. 政治的 反抗과 慘劇이 그들에게 얼마나 있었으며 이 精神이 漸次로 國民文化運動으로 옮겨가기는 꽤 오랜 歷史를 가지고 있다. (Bak N. 1933)

British high-handed politics planted endless agony, groan and grudge in the hearts of the Irish people. Irish history has been one of political resistance and tragedies. Long ago this spirit of resistance gradually evolved into a national cultural movement.

However, the Irish cultural movement, or cultural nationalism, like political nationalism, was a more complex movement than Korean writers thought. It also involved the identity of various groups: It first crystallised as a significant movement in the 18th century among Irish Protestant settlers whose weak ethnic identity gradually evolved out of a series of conflicts between native Catholics and

⁶⁰ *Cathleen ni Houlihan* is a one-act play that presents “the world of Ireland embodied in a single figure, the old lady who appears on the day the French land at Killala in 1798” (Welch 1986: 212). The heroine Cathleen ni Houlihan represents an independent and separate Irish state.

metropolitan Britain (Hutchinson 1987: 46). Later in the 19th century, the movement emerged among the native Irish community already powerfully defined by its Catholic religion and onto which a native Gaelic revivalism was grafted. While the Catholic groups tended to concentrate on the revival of the native languages, the Anglo-Irish Protestant groups supported a literary revival. From the mid 1880s to 1914, William Butler Yeats was at the hub of the Anglo-Irish literary revival producing a stream of poems, plays, and manifestos (ibid.: 131).

Korean writers emphasised the Irish dramatic movement as part of the Irish nationalist movement. They drew attention to the fact that the Irish dramatic movement had emerged as a form of cultural nationalism due to the failure of political struggles following the downfall of Charles S. Parnell (An Y. 1933a; Bak N. 1933; Gim Gwangseop 1934e, 1935a, and 1936b):

愛蘭 自治黨의 首領이요 『무관의 왕』으로서 불려진 파-넬이
沒한 後 政治에 對한 모든 熱感性이 靑年의 心裏에서 사라지는
同時 ... 狂熱적 反抗에서 文化的 反抗에 그 鬭爭手段을
轉換하게 되었다. 이리하여 그들은 必然的으로 自國文化에
執着하게 되어 ... 愛蘭文學建設의 氣運이 漸熱하게 됨에 따라
愛蘭의 劇運動이 또한 비로소 勃興하게 되었다. (An Y. 1933a)

After the downfall of Parnell, the leader of the Irish Parliament Party and Home Rule MP and the ‘Uncrowned King’, political enthusiasm disappeared from the heart of the young Irish people ... and their violent political resistance was converted into cultural resistance. As a matter of course, they turned to their native culture. ... As the movement to establish Irish literature gradually became heated, the Irish dramatic movement arose.

As Hutchinson points out, between 1869 and 1900 the Irish mind was dominated by a movement for political autonomy that mobilised with increasing momentum large sections of the Irish population at home and in a radical mass-based Catholic organisation dedicated to the destruction of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland (1987: 152) and its leader was the charismatic Charles Stewart Parnell. In 1890, when Parnell was suddenly involved in a public divorce scandal, there arose “a three-sided struggle for moral and political authority in Ireland”: these were first, “an alliance between party loyalists and the Church (driven to condemn Parnell on moral grounds) against Parnell, who was forced to play the full nationalist card, appealing to the idea of an Ireland free of clerical and British dictation”; and second, the fight by the Church and its political spokesmen “to seize the control of the party machine from the radicals led by Dillon” after Parnell's death and the defeat of his supporters in the general election of 1892 (ibid.: 162). Hutchinson goes on to comment, “It was in this atmosphere of general disillusionment with mass democratic politics that a series of competing revivalist organizations formed to reconstruct Irish society on authentic native values” (ibid.: 162). The Korean cultural movement arose after the failure of the political struggle, the March First Independence Movement in 1919. Korean writers understood the Irish cultural movement in this context. They regarded the movement as an alternative political struggle, as did Standish O'Grady, a leader of the Irish literary renaissance. Regarding the position of the Irish literary movement, Standish O'Grady prophesied in 1899:

We have now a literary movement, it is not very important; it will be followed by a political movement, that will not be very important; then must come a military movement, that will be important indeed. (qtd. in

Tymoczko 1999: 82-83)

As O’Grady had foreseen, the literary movement did lead to the 1916 Easter Rising (Tymoczko 1999: 83). In this context, Korean writers stressed the function of the Abbey Theatre as a national awakening:

아베이 座는 그 時代의 思潮 – 썬 페인(우리 것은 우리가)라는 民族精神-에 步調를 맞추어서 自國民性의 表現에 努力하였다. 國民的인 傳說을 잡아서 劇化하여 그로써 民族精神을 促進하고 愛蘭人의 自覺覺醒에 채질한 것이었다. (Yu C. 1932c)

The Abbey Theatre has striven to express the nature of the Irish people, in keeping with the national spirit of Sinn Féin [We ourselves]. They stimulated and promoted national consciousness and awakening by presenting national legends.

As a result, Korean writers pointed out, the Abbey Theatre contributed to the emergence of the Irish Free State in 1922 (Gim Gwang-seop 1935b; Jo W. 1934).⁶¹ This fact was very important to Korean writers because the ultimate purpose of their theatre movement was also to achieve the liberation of Korea from colonial rule. Although Irish cultural nationalism had a major impact, “mobilizing against English hegemony a large-scale movement in Ireland and the Irish diaspora of Britain and America” during the third ethnic revivalism,⁶² it was between 1918 and 1921 that “it

⁶¹ Jang says that “The Korean intelligentsia believed that the modern Irish theatre movement led and guided the direction of the overall national movement including the Irish Renaissance” (Jang W. 2000: 120).

⁶² As Sean Cronin (1980) put it in his book entitled *Irish Nationalism: A History of its Roots and Ideology*, we can identify five strands in Irish nationalism: traditionalist, constitutional nationalism, physical-force republicanism, radical republicanism, and cultural nationalism. Irish cultural

became a significant political force and the vehicle for a successful independence movement” (Hutchinson 1987: 49 and 152). However, Korean writers wrote as if all the activities of the Abbey Theatre brought about the emergence of the Irish Free State.

Therefore, Korean writers considered the playwrights who were involved in the movement and their works to be nationalistic. They accentuated patriotic and nationalistic aspects in the introduction of Irish playwrights and their works. An Yong-sun stated that the most prominent characteristics about Irish drama lay in the fact that it was nationalistic:

愛蘭劇의 特徵은 『劇과 詩』의 統一에 있다고 보는 사람도
있으나 그것은 一二 作家의 特徵에 不過한 것으로 決코
愛蘭劇의 全的特質을 云謂함이 아니다. 만일 우리가 愛蘭劇에서
國民的이란 特色을 除去한다면 우리는 全英國劇에서 特히
愛蘭劇이란 名稱을 冠할 何等의 區別을 發見할 수가 없는
것이다. (1933a)

nationalism, which emphasises “the moral regeneration of the national community”, originated “after the full-scale colonization of the island by English Anglicans and Scots Presbyterians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and its absorption into the British Empire”, when the modern nationalist idea of the island emerged as the island “chosen by providence to be the homeland of an autonomous and unitary civilization endowed with a peculiar creative power that destined it for a formative role in the continuous evolution of Western culture” (Hutchinson 1987: 48). But it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that the first clear formulation appeared: a small group of scholars, “pleading for a rejection of the destructive English images of the Irish past, advocated a revival of national life by the return of their fellow Irishmen to the authentic wisdom encoded in the distinctive linguistic, literary, religious and political culture of their ancestors” (ibid.: 48-49). With this as the first, the ethnic revivalism, which sought “to return to an identity in Ireland’s Gaelic past”, “unite the members of its different religious and social groups, and provide alternative models for national economic, social and political development,” continued throughout the nineteenth century: the second in the 1830s and the third in the 1890s (ibid.: 49). It was the third revival, that is to say, the Gaelic Revival, that led to the establishment of an independent Irish state in 1921. Literary, linguistic and politico-cultural movements composed the third revival.

Although some scholars say that the unification of ‘drama and poetry’ is characteristic of Irish drama, it is not applicable to Irish drama as a whole. Without its nationalistic character, there would be no distinction between Irish drama and British drama.

This attitude toward Irish drama was also revealed in the interpretation of Irish plays, as shown in this comment by Gim Gwang-seop:

예이츠는 黃金을 通하여 惡魔와 天使를 對立시켰고 天使 캐트린 伯爵夫人을 通하여 愛蘭의 아름다운 靈魂을 具現시켰다. 그러므로 이 劇은 어디까지든지 民族的이요 不滅의 民族의 精神의 鼓致였다. (1936b: 226)

In *The Countess Cathleen*, Yeats made a devil and an angel confront each other through gold and presented the beautiful soul of Ireland through Countess Cathleen, an angel. Therefore, this play was nationalistic, arousing an immortal national spirit.

Regarding Synge, Gim Gwang-seop (1935b) said that he was the greatest playwright the Abbey Theatre produced and the subject matters of his plays such as *The Playboy of the Western World*, *The Well of the Saints*, *In the Shadow of the Glen*, and *Riders to the Sea* were concerned with the primitive state of nature in Ireland, which had not been contaminated by civilisation.

In fact, not all of the plays that were produced at the Abbey Theatre were considered nationalistic in Ireland. Donal Dorsey commented, “The Abbey’s insistence on the broadest possible view of Irish nationality, not hesitating to show the bad with the good, caused endless trouble” (1967: 126). Yeats’ *The Countess*

Cathleen was attacked for its “slandorous caricature of the Irish peasant” (ibid.: 128): “no Irishman, no matter how hungry or destitute, would ever sell his soul” (ibid.: 126). Synge’s first play, *In the Shadow of the Glen*, was also condemned for its “farcical libel on the character of the average decently reared Irish peasant women” (ibid.: 130-33), and his *The Playboy of the Western World* attracted the criticism that “the dialogue was just ‘barbarous jargon’”, “the hideous caricature would be slanderous of a Kaffir Kraal”, “the worst specimen of stage Irishman of the past is a refined acceptable fellow compared with that imagined by Mr. Synge” and so on (ibid.: 133-36).

However, Korean writers did not pay attention to these aspects of the Abbey’s plays. Their ideological intention led them to misunderstand or distort the facts when introducing Irish playwrights and their works. This was most serious in the introduction of Dunsany. The portrayal of Dunsany in modern Korean theatre played a part in making him a major playwright in modern Korean theatre.

Actually, Dunsany was not an important playwright in the Irish dramatic movement. He has rarely been included as one of the major playwrights in the history of the Abbey Theatre, as shown in the following introduction:

In 1924 it became apparent that a new master had arisen in the Irish theatre, to join the other established talents: O’Casey now took his place alongside Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory, T.C. Murray, Lennox Robinson, and St. John Ervine. (Welch 1999: 87)

As the above statement shows, Dunsany was not considered one of leading talents of Irish theatre. However, Korean writers introduced him as one of the major writers together with Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory, and O’Casey, who stimulated and

promoted national consciousness and awakening by presenting national legends (Yu C. 1932c; Gim Yong-su 1931; Gim Gwang-seop 1935a and 1935b). His plays were also treated as nationalistic. They were introduced as being “full of the mystic colour of Norse mythology” and “native Irishness” (*Dongmyeong* 1923: 6). His plays, in their view, dealt with “things Irish, that is to say, Irish gods, legends or peasants” (An Y. 1933a); An Yong-sun goes on to comment that the reason that Dunsany was not staged at the Abbey Theatre between 1911 and 1919 was because he did not deal with things Irish (*ibid.*). This fact was emphasised by Dunsany being expelled from the Abbey Theatre, and his plays were never produced at the Abbey Theatre after Ireland became a free state because he betrayed the Irish people: he pointed a gun at Irishmen in the Easter rebellion in April 1916 (*ibid.*).

It was true that Dunsany betrayed the Irish people. In the Easter rebellion in April 1916, “Dunsany, attempting to aid the government, was seriously injured by the rebels. He, Dunsany, was shot in the face during the Easter rebellion in Dublin, and imprisoned by both sides” (Joshi 1995: 5). However, the imaginary worlds and events he depicted in his plays were not related to Irish reality as Korean writers thought. As Joshi points out, the single overriding theme that united nearly the whole of Dunsany's work was the need for reunification with the natural world by a repudiation of industrial civilisation (*ibid.*: 2). For Dunsany, “the creations of a fantastic world serve as symbols for the natural world, a natural world whose ‘realistic’ portrayal does not interest him because it is too concerned with petty details and not with imaginative overtones” (*ibid.*: 4). As stated in his essay ‘Romance and the Modern Stage’, Dunsany saw in art an antidote to the evils of industrial civilisation:

I know of the boons that machinery has conferred on man, all tyrants have

boons to confer, but service to the dynasty of steam and steel is a hard service and gives little leisure to fancy to flit from field to field. ... The kind of drama that we most need today seems to me to be the kind that will build new worlds for the fancy, for the spirit as much as the body needs sometimes a change of scene. (Dunsany 1911: 830-34, qtd. in Joshi 1995: 56)

But Korean intellectuals interpreted that his fantastic world described the realities of the Irish people under colonial rule.

In portraying Lady Gregory, Korean writers emphasised her contribution to the Abbey Theatre as a mother figure who led the Abbey Theatre (Yu C. 1932a; Jo W. 1934). It was partly because of this position in the Irish dramatic movement that she was treated as a major Irish playwright in modern Korean theatre although, as Jang Won-jae argued, the possibility of a political interpretation of her plays also played a part (2000: 213). However, her plays were not valued highly in modern Korean theatre. Jo Won-gyeong, a drama critic, stated in an essay titled '*Gregory Buin-gwa Aeran-ui Yeongeuk Undong* (Lady Gregory and the Modern Irish Dramatic Movement)': Lady Gregory neither had the poetical talent of Sappho, nor the literary talent of George Sand; she was second or third grade at most among female artists (1934: 123).

Jo went on to say that Gregory was considered a great woman in spite of this fact because of her contribution to the Irish literary renaissance. Jang Gi-je, a leading figure of the modern Korean theatre movement, also judged the quality of her plays as not matching that of plays by Synge and Yeats: Gregory "wrote a mystery drama though not matching Yeats', and some significant peasant plays though not as great as Synge's plays" (1932b). In spite of this, in modern Korean theatre, Gregory was

considered one of the major playwrights of the Abbey Theatre because of her contribution to the Abbey.

The international prestige of the Abbey Theatre was another important aspect for Korean writers because it contributed to the introduction of Irish culture to the world and to the improvement of the standard of Irish drama on an international level (Jeong I. 1938a: 161; Gim Gwang-seop 1935b; Yu C. 1932a; Yi Hyo-seok 1930). In an essay titled 'Laws of Literary Interference', Even-Zohar pointed out prestige as one of the reasons for a source literature being selected (1990: 59). The international prestige of the Abbey Theatre that Korean writers emphasised seemed to play a part in Irish plays being selected in the field of modern Korean theatre. After all, that was one of the goals that modern Korean theatre aimed to achieve.

Korean writers also expressed their interest in the English language in which Irish playwrights wrote their works. As discussed in section 1.4, leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement considered translation to be one of the methods by which it would be possible to save and reform the Korean language. So it was not surprising that Korean writers were interested in the language used in Irish plays.

From a commonsense standpoint, it was natural that a nation's language would be used in creating a national literature as Jang also pointed out (Jang W. 2000: 122), but the language the Abbey's playwrights used was the language of the conquerors, English. Korean writers explained the situation by deducing that the Abbey's playwrights had to write in English, as opposed to Irish Gaelic: the Irish people had been severed from their national language by the long history of the colonisers' political oppression and the bulk of the population was not able to understand Irish Gaelic (Jeong I. 1938b: 142; An Y. 1933a). In addition, Korean writers stressed that the English language used by the Irish playwrights was different from that of the colonisers (An Y. 1933a; Jeong I. 1938a and 1938b):

우리가 主意할 것은 愛蘭人이 使用하는 英語와 英蘭人이 使用하는 英語에는 거기에 儼然한 區別이 存在하여 있다는 것이다. 愛蘭에서 使用되는 英語에는 그 自身の 個性이 있고 明確한 特徵으로서의 愛蘭的 語調의 리듬이 있다. 예-쯔, 그레고리 夫人, 썩그를 비롯한 現代國民劇作家에서 우리는 이러한 愛蘭人 獨特의 리듬을 明確히 찾아낼 수 있으니 所謂 英語愛蘭文學 (앵글로 아이리쉬 리터러췌)이란 이러한 獨特한 英語를 使用하는 愛蘭文學을 말함이다. (An Y. 1933a)

We must take note of the fact that there is a strict distinction between Irish English and British English. Irish English has its own individuality and Irish rhythm and style. We can find the Irish rhythm in the works of modern Irish national playwrights including Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge. The so-called Anglo-Irish literature refers to the Irish literature that uses this unique English.

It was true that the Anglo-Irish Protestant groups who supported a literary revival wrote in English, but they attempted to incorporate Irish dialects and syntax, as well as ancient myths and legends, into their works (Hutchinson 1987: 131) and the language they used was a means of arousing national consciousness (An Y. 1933a): “What some Irish dramatists, stripped strategically of the Irish language, have tactically turned to their advantage [was] the once alien English tongue, making of it their own weapon of resistance in the process of claiming their identity” (Duncan 2004: 3).

As discussed above, the Korean writers focused on the political connotations of the Irish dramatic movement rather than its aesthetic aspects. They were interested in

the context in which the plays were produced rather than in individual plays or playwrights. Motivated by their desire to appropriate, they skewed the representation of the Irish dramatic movement based on their ideological purposes. Although more than half of the publications were written by leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement - Gim Gwang-seop, Yu Chi-jin, Jang Gi-je and Jeong In-seop - the rest were written by poets, novelists, journalists or scholars. Therefore, as Jang Won-jae also pointed out (2000: 12-13), Irish drama was considered a means of fostering a nationalistic movement among Korean intellectuals as well as in the literary world as a whole. Some Korean translators of Irish drama, including Gim U-jin, Jeong In-seop and An Yong-sun, had also played a part in forming the representation through their articles.

When he discussed the formation of translated domestic canons in the host culture, Venuti pointed out:

when translation projects reflect the interests of a specific cultural constituency, ... the resulting image of the foreign culture may still achieve national dominance, accepted by many readers in the domestic culture whatever their social position may be. (1998: 73)

His remark can be applicable in this case. An affiliation between Korean intellectuals and the publishing industry, which possessed cultural authority of sufficient power to create a dominant image of the foreign culture, moulded the dominant image of the Irish dramatic movement accepted by many readers in Korea. The ideological system of Korean culture played a part in the process of creating the image. Irish drama translation was formed in this context. As Even-Zohar argued, “Translated works do correlate ... in the way their source texts are selected by the

target literature” (2004: 199); Irish dramas in Korean theatre were correlated in that they were selected in relation to the ideological system of Korean culture. The next section will deal with the reception of Irish drama through publications, stage productions and broadcasting.

2.3. Translated Irish Drama and Playwrights

Modern Irish playwrights were first introduced into Korea in 1916 by Baek Dae-jin, a literary critic, in a magazine called *Sinmunngye*. In his article titled ‘*Isipsegi Chodu Guju Jedaemunhakga-reul Chueokham* (Remembering Great European Men of Letters in the Early 20th Century)’, Baek said Yeats, Synge and Shaw were leading the British literary world (qtd. in Shin J. 1994: 147). In 1918, he introduced Irish playwrights again. In his article titled ‘*Choegeun-ui Taeseo Mundan* (The Recent Western Literary World)’, Baek commented that Irish playwrights occupied a central position in British theatre:

극작가(劇作家)로 유명한 이는 쇼오, 골즈워-디, 바-커 등 세
사람이며 거기에 웃점을 친 이는 ... 매-스필드이올시다. 이외로
신진작가로 유명한 사람은 아일랜드의 그레고리의 뒤를 이어
일어난 사람들이올시다. 그럼으로써 아일랜드가 영국 극계에
대해 중심지가 되었습니다. (1918: 5)

Famous playwrights [in British theatre] are Shaw, Galsworthy and Barker.
We can add one more writer, Masfield, to this group, ... Famous new
playwrights are Irish playwrights who have come after Lady Gregory.
Hereby, Ireland has come to occupy a central position in British theatre.

Until this time, information about Irish playwrights had been fragmentary. Irish playwrights and their works were introduced in earnest during the 1920s and 1930s: they were introduced through publications, stage productions and broadcasting. This section will first discuss translated Irish works that were published. Although works by George Bernard Shaw and Oscar Wilde were frequently introduced during this period, these playwrights are excluded from discussions of modern Korean theatre because they were regarded by Korean critics as belonging to “the lineage of English theatre.”⁶³ Of course, their works had resonances that came from their national background as Irishmen, as Malone stated:

[We can see in them] a perfection of dialogue which is quite distinctively Irish; and they all have that wit which is no less a distinguishing mark of the Irishman. They are all satirists, viewing English life with a somewhat disapproving smile. ...Comedies by English writers tend to be humorous and sentimental, while comedies by Irishmen tend to be witty and ironic. (1929: 14-15)

However, despite these elements, Korean drama critics excluded them when they discussed Irish drama because they “wrote for Englishmen [and] produced their works on the English stage” (Gim Gwang-seop 1936b). True Irish drama in modern Korean theatre was considered to have appeared after the Abbey Theatre was

⁶³ During the colonial period, six works by Oscar Wilde including *Salome*, *Vera*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, and Shaw's *How He Lied to Her Husband* were published. Wilde's *Salome* was translated six times by Bak Yeong-hui, Hyeon Cheol, C.S.Y. and Yang Jae-myeong, but was never performed in colonial Korea. It was published in magazines *Baekjo* in 1922, *Wisaeng-gwa Hwajang* in 1926, *Gaecheok* and *Dongseong* in 1927, and by publishers Dongmunsa and Bakmunseogwan in 1922 and 1923 respectively. Shaw's *How He Lied* and *Arms and the Man* were produced on the Korean stage.

established, and the dramatists who wrote for the Abbey Theatre were treated as being the most important.⁶⁴

2.3.1. Published Playwrights and Works

What follows is a review of all plays translated into Korean from the Irish playwrights of the Abbey Theatre during the 1920s and 1930s. The plays will be examined in chronological order by author as they were translated and published in Korea.

The Irish play that was first translated into Korean was Lady Augusta Gregory's one-act play *The Rising of the Moon*. This play was written in the summer of 1903 and first performed at the Abbey Theatre in 1907. Lady Gregory (1852-1932) was a founding member of the Abbey Theatre, who remained as a mother figure in Irish theatre until her death, and as the driving-force at the Abbey Theatre; pursuing realistic-domestic ideals, she enjoyed far more success with the Abbey's audiences than did Yeats (Fitz-Simon 1983: 140; Brockett and Findlay 1973: 165-66).⁶⁵

The Rising of the Moon describes the dilemma of a sergeant in the Royal Irish Constabulary, who, as a boy, sang rebel songs, but now hangs out posters for an escaped nationalistic leader. A ballad singer, who later confesses himself to be the

⁶⁴ It can be said that Bernard Shaw was also a popular playwright at the Abbey Theatre. When Mr. J. Augustus Keogh, who had a considerable reputation as an actor in the plays of Bernard Shaw, assumed management of the Abbey Theatre in 1916, the Shaw boom arose. In a single season, *John Bull's Other Island*, *Widowers' Houses*, *Arms and the Man*, *The Inca of Perusalem*, *Man and Superman*, and *The Doctor's Dilemma* were produced to a reasonably sized audience (Malone 1929: 119-20). However, this fact was not important to modern Korean theatre. Although many of his plays were produced at the Abbey Theatre with a success, he was not included in the category of Irish drama.

⁶⁵ There were, from the beginning of the Irish Renaissance, two conflicting dramatic ideals: the poetic- mythic and the realistic-domestic. Yeats was the most important of those who pursued the first type, but it was in productions of the second type that the Abbey was most successful, perhaps because it dealt with a world familiar to Irish audiences. Furthermore, the actors felt much more at home with this type and thus gave more convincing performances. Among those who wrote the second type of play, the most successful in the early years was Lady Gregory (Brockett and Findlay 1973: 165).

escaped prisoner, arouses a long-buried sense of patriotism in the Sergeant by showing that they have a shared heritage and a collective memory, which is apparently beyond political ideology, and, consequently, the Sergeant gives up the chance of winning the £100 reward and lets him go.

This play was not favourably received by either Nationalists or Unionists, as Gregory observed:

This play was considered offensive to some extreme Nationalists before it was acted, because it showed the police in too favourable a light, and a Unionist paper attacked it after it was acted because the policeman was represented “as a coward and a traitor”; but after the Belfast police strike that same paper praised its “insight into Irish character.” (1991b: 432-33)

Nor was this play favourably received by the actors at the Abbey Theatre. According to W. B. Yeats, the actors refused to play it on the grounds that a policeman should not be depicted as having patriotic instincts (Welch 1999: 79).

The Rising of the Moon was first translated into Korean by Bak Yong-cheol, a poet, literary critic and translator, and was published in 1921 in a literary magazine *Gaebyeok*. This play was translated again in 1930 and 1931 by Choe Byeong-han and Choe Jeong-u. Choe Byeong-han participated in theatre-related activities in Tokyo although he was not directly involved in the modern Korean theatre movement and Choe Jeong-u was one of the leading figures of the modern Korean theatre movement. Given that it was not until 1927 that this play was first produced on the Korean stage, it seems that these translations were not done for any stage production, but for reading. There is no record of the reason of the choice of this play to translate, but the motive behind its selection may be guessed from the comment

made by Gim Gwang-seop: “Lady Gregory’s *The Rising of the Moon* aroused patriotism among Irish people” (1935b). This means that this play was considered a patriotic political play in Korean theatre; it could have been that the relationship between the policeman and the prisoner had resonances for the relationship between the Korean police and the colonised population they were asked to control.

Each of the translators employed different translation strategies. Bak’s translation is faithful to the source text as a whole, but shows a trace of a self-censorship to enable the translation to pass the colonisers’ censorship. Bak weakened the image of the Fenian in the source text into being less resourceful and less coercive through lexical alteration and changing the subject. In the original text, the Fenian is described as a man of resources to the extent that he is able to make all plans for the organisation, but in Bak’s translation, he is described as a mysterious man with power. The colonisers would have preferred this image because the Fenian could have had resonances of a Korean independence fighter for the Korean readers and audiences.

SERGEANT. [...] They say he's a wonder, that it's he makes all the plans for the whole organization. (Gregory 1991a: 55)

This was translated as:

巡查部長. 어떤 怪異한 人物이래. 團體의 行動은 모두 그 者이 命令 아래 服從한대. (Gregory/Bak Y. 1921: 125)

SERGEANT. [...] They say he’s a mysterious man, that the whole organisation obeys his orders.

The Fenian in the original text is able to disguise himself [as a ragged man] to achieve his purpose. However, he can be very coercive if necessary: he is ready to shoot the Sergeant when his identity is revealed. As Pethica points out, his stage-Irish charm is only a tool, and the potential for real violence lurks uncomfortably close beneath the surface humour of the action (2004: 69).

When he reaches an impasse, he says to the Sergeant: “Will you let me pass, or must I make you let me?” (Gregory 1991a: 61). Bak translated this line as “나를 逃亡시켜주겠소, 또는 無理로 나를 捕縛하겠소 (Will you let me escape, or arrest me by force?)” (Gregory/Bak Y. 1921: 132). The Ragged Man’s attitude is much less coercive and less threatening than in the original text. By altering “must I make you let me pass?” to “Will you ... arrest me by force?” the Ragged Man seems to leave his fate in the Sergeant’s hands. This alteration could have been a case of self censorship. The Fenian belonged to a movement that wanted to overthrow the English coloniser, which could have had resonances for Korean independence fighters who wanted to overthrow the Japanese colonisers. Accordingly, the threatening image of the Fenian would not have been allowed by the Japanese colonisers’ censorship.

Choe Jeong-u uses the Korean alphabet in his translation while two other translators mix the Korean alphabet and Chinese characters in their translations. Choe’s translation is generally faithful to the source text, but shows traces of the censorship by the Japanese colonial government. Expressions that could be interpreted by the colonisers as being subversive, such as “free”, “breaking gaol”, “law” and “when the small rise up and the big fall down”, are censored. Expressions that could be interpreted as strengthening the national unity of the colonised, such as “comrade” and “did me a good turn”, are also censored. In the following quotations, the underlined parts are censored in the Korean version.

MAN. And maybe one night, after you had been singing, if the other boys had told you some plan they had, some plan to free the country, you might have joined with them. (Gregory 1991a: 59)

SERGEANT. If it wasn't for the sense I have, and for my wife and family, and for me joining the force the time I did, it might be myself now would be after breaking gaol and hiding in the dark. (ibid.: 59)

MAN. Sergeant, I am thinking it was with the people you were, and not with the law you were, when you were a young man. (ibid.: 60)

MAN. [*going towards steps*]. Well, good-night, comrade, and thank you. You did me a good turn to-night, and I'm obliged to you. Maybe I'll be able to do as much for you when the small rise up and the big fall down. (ibid.: 62)

Given that Choe Jeong-u's translation shows traces of the censorship of words or expressions that were allowed to be printed in the other two Korean versions, it seems that Choe Jeong-u tried to convey a subversive meaning through lexical choices, although we cannot know which Korean words he used because they are censored.

Choe Byeong-han's translation is the most colloquial and least faithful to the source text. Beside the title of the play, the translator showed that he had altered some content of the original play by indicating "translated and amended by Choe Byeong-han." His translation is thoroughly target reader-oriented although the entire

setting of the source text is kept unchanged. He tried to make his translation acceptable to the Korean readers by adopting translation strategies such as adding, generalising translation, lexical domestication and dynamic equivalence.

From the first line of the text, his intention to improve the understanding of the Korean readers is revealed. The setting of the drama is “Side of a quay in a seaport town” (Gregory 1991a: 54). This was translated as “愛蘭의 어떤 港(棧橋) (A quay in a seaport town in Ireland - a pier)” (Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 192). Choe Byeong-han added ‘Ireland’ in order to help the Korean audience understand the background. He also adopted a generalising translation for the Korean readers’ understanding. Generalising translation refers to “rendering an ST [source text] expression by a TL [target language] hyperonym – that is, the literal meaning of the TT [target text] expression is wider and less specific than that of the corresponding ST expression” (Hervey and Higgins 1992: 250).

In the following, Bally-vaughan, which would have been unfamiliar to the Korean reader, was translated into just “他地方 (another province)”:

MAN. There was a poor man in our place, a sergeant from Bally-vaughan.

– It was with a lump of stone he did it. (Gregory 1991a: 57)

男. 우리게서 그만 잘못 죽은 사람이 있었지요. 他地方에서 온
警部인 데 그 때에 그만. (Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 195)

MAN. There was a poor man in our place, who was put to death wrongly.

He was a sergeant from another province.

Lexical domestication was also adopted to increase understanding: the British currency ‘pound’ was translated into Korean currency ‘원 (won)’. The most drastic strategy throughout the text is domestication for dynamic equivalence.

Dynamic equivalence is a translation strategy based on “the principle of equivalent effect, [where] the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message” (Nida 1964: 159). This translation strategy is most prominent in the translation of the song that the Ragged Man sings in order to stimulate the Sergeant’s patriotism:

MAN. [*sings*]

As through the hills I walked to view the hills and shamrock plain,
I stood awhile where nature smiles to view the rocks and streams,
On a matron fair I fixed my eyes beneath a fertile vale,
And she sang her song it was on the wrong of poor old Granuaile.
(Gregory 1991a: 58)

This song was completely altered in the target text as follows:

男. (노래를 부른다) (노래)

넓고도 널따란 三千里江山!

발 멈추고 바라보니!

좋고도 좋다 바위와 샘!

늙은 어멈 하나 이 산골에 앉아!

슬프다 부르짖는 노래곡조 「쿠라니엘」 (Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 197)

MAN. [*sings*]

Vast and open *Samcheolli Gangsan*!

I stood awhile to view!

The rocks and streams, good and nice!
 An old mother sat in the vale!
 And she sang her sad song of Granuaile.

The *Samcheolli Gangsan*, the literal meaning of which is rivers and mountains of three thousand *li*,⁶⁶ refers to Korea. The distance from the northern end to southern end of Korea is estimated to be about three thousand *li*. The atmosphere the song conveys is different from the original one: while the original one is very bright with the positive lexical choice of “smile”, “fair”, and “fertile”, that of the target text is gloomy due to the choice of negative words, such as “old” and “sad”. This may be interpreted as reflecting the depressing reality of colonial Korea. Through these lexical devices, the translator created a song that could stimulate patriotism among Korean readers. In this way, the equivalent effect was achieved.

The Korean translations of some words such as “ballad-singer” and “Green on the Cape” were also made in relation to Korean culture. When the Sergeant and the Ragged Man first meet, the Ragged Man introduces himself as “a poor ballad-singer” (Gregory 1991a: 55). In Choe’s translation, he introduces himself as “場타령이나 하고 다니는 거지 (a beggar and *Jangtaryeong*-singer)” (Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 193). A *Jangtaryeong* is a type of Korean folk song that was handed down orally. Beggars often sang a *Jangtaryeong* when asking for charity. Among the titles of the songs the Ragged Man cites, asking if the Sergeant knows them, is “Green on the Cape” (Gregory 1991a: 59). This title was translated into “靑山백두 (*Cheongsan Baekdu*)” (Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 198). *Cheongsan Baekdu*, the literal meaning of which is Green Baekdu, refers to Baekdu mountain,

⁶⁶ *Li* is a distance unit that is used in Korea. One *li* is about 0.393km.

the highest mountain in Korea. It is also a symbol of Korea. These translation strategies show the translator's intention of making his work acceptable and understandable by Korean readers through the use of a domestication strategy.

In Choe Byeong-han's translation, the most prominent alteration to the source text is the change to the end of the play. The original text reads as follows:

MAN. [*going towards steps*]. Well, good-night, comrade, and thank you.

You did me a good turn to-night, and I'm obliged to you. Maybe I'll be able to do as much for you when the small rise up and the big fall down ... when we all change places at the rising [*waves his hand and disappears*] of the Moon.

SERGEANT. [*turning his back to audience and reading placard*]. A

hundred pounds reward! A hundred pounds! [*turns towards audience.*] I wonder, now, am I as great a fool as I think I am? (Gregory 1991a: 62)

Although, out of patriotism, the Sergeant lets the Ragged Man go, he still dwells on the hundred pounds reward. As Pethica comments:

The Ragged Man is far from being an idealized healer. While his talk and song inspire beneficial human connection, they leave the Sergeant acutely conflicted at the end of the play between the claims of political idealism and the materialist concerns of ordinary life, and far from sure he has done the right thing. (2004: 69)

This is the realistic aspect of the play. In contrast, the ending in the target text is very different:

男. 큰놈이 넘어지고 적은 놈이 일어날제 – (손을 흔들며) 동산에
달이 들 때!

(男 노래부르며 退場. 警官 바빠 上場)

警部. 千圓! 償金千圓! 에잇 (달려가서 피스톨을 쏜다) (悲命.

同時에 巡査 X, B가 달려온다)

警部. 잡아라, 저놈 저놈.

部長. (男이 退場한 便을 물끄러미 본다) (Gregory /Choe B. 1930:
200)

MAN. When the small rise up and the big fall down... [*waving his hand*]
when the moon rises over a hill! [*Man disappears, singing. A police*
officer enters in a hurry.]

POLICE OFFICER. A thousand won! A thousand won reward! Hang it!
[*run out and shoots*] [*A scream. At that very moment, policeman X and*
B runs in.]

POLICE OFFICER. Get him! Get him!

SERGEANT. [*Looks blankly in the direction in which the Man*
disappeared.]

The translator created a character, a police officer, who did not exist in the original play and some of the dialogue was removed. In the target text, the Sergeant shows no psychological conflict between “political idealism” and “materialist concerns”. The creation of a new character, a police officer, might have been a case of self censorship because the colonisers’ censors would not have accepted the original ending. The Japanese censorship would never have let the Fenian, who could have a resonance of Korean independence fighters, go without being chased.

Like Choe Jeong-u's translation, Choe Byeong-han's translation also shows traces of censorship. A peculiar thing about his translation is that the censorship is of words or expressions that might have been entirely innocuous:

POLICEMAN B. A hundred pounds is little enough for the Government to offer for him. (Gregory 1991a: 55)

In the translation of this line, "the Government" was censored:

B. xx에서 놔잡는 데 千圓償金이라는 것은 너무 적은데
(Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 193)

POLICEMAN B. One thousand won (*Korean currency) is too little for XX to offer for him.

In the following line by the Sergeant, "the force" was censored:

SERGEANT. Well, we have to do our duty in the force. (Gregory 1991a: 55)

部長. 如何튼 우리는 xx에 義務를 지키지 않으면 안돼.
(Gregory/Choe B. 1930: 193)

SERGEANT. Anyway, we must do our duty XX.

Given that both "the Government" and "the force" represent the colonisers, it seems the translator translated these words into expressions that could be interpreted as abusing or defaming the Japanese colonial government.

The Rising of the Moon was translated again by An Yong-sun and published in

the monthly journal *Saegyoyuk* in September 1948 after the liberation of Korea.⁶⁷ Regarding the motive of its translation, An commented that this play is worthy of close re-examination since the nature of the Irish people is reflected in this play (1948: 139). In this translation, culture-specific terms such as ‘shamrock’ were translated using footnotes. This is an interesting change of strategy from domestication to foreignisation. Earlier versions depended on a domestication strategy to improve understanding by Korean readers. Korean readers had perhaps come to know the context of the play better through earlier versions.

Two other plays by Lady Gregory, *The Workhouse Ward* and *The Gaol Gate*, were translated by Choe Jeong-u and published in the magazine *Donggwang* in 1932 and in the *Chosun Ilbo* in 1933. *The Workhouse Ward*, which was written with Douglas Hyde, the founder of the Gaelic League, under the title *The Poorhouse* (3 April 1907) and later *The Workhouse Ward* (1908), was first produced at the Abbey Theatre in April 1908. This one-act farce, set in a workhouse in Cloon, a fictional township, portrays two scolding paupers, who are argumentative, but who have a close relationship. When the sister of one of them offers him a place living with a relative, he refuses to accept the prosperous home and be separated from his friend. Lady Gregory viewed this scolding pair as “potential symbols of ‘ourselves in Ireland’ in their preference for the familiarity of antagonistic co-dependency over productive action, and their privileging of linguistic creativity over material advancement” (Richards 2004: 71). *The Workhouse Ward* was not produced on stage in colonial Korea.

The Gaol Gate, which was staged at the Abbey Theatre in 1906, depicts the

⁶⁷ An Yong-sun had translated and published Dunsany’s *Fame and the Poet* in *Chosun Ilbo* from 6 to 9 Dec. 1934. An also wrote essays about Irish dramatists: “*Aeran Hyeondae Geukjakga Dunsanyron* (An Essay on Contemporary Irish Dramatist: Lord Dunsany)” in *Chosun Ilbo* from 13 to 17 May 1933 and “*Aeran Sinjin Huigeuk Jakga George Shiels* (A New Irish comedy writer: George Shiels)” in *Chosun Ilbo* from 12 to 28 Dec. 1934.

emotions of two women, the mother and the wife of Denis Cahel, who had been held in Galway Jail for firing a gun and later chose to be hanged rather than become an informer. As Pethica points out, the self-sacrifice of Denis Cahel provides “the dramatic climax, as his mother and widow, in tragic pride, call for his name to be entered in the pantheon of martyrs” (2004: 66).

The Kiltartan dialect from the Kiltartan region of Galway, which was developed by Lady Augusta Gregory, was employed in this play. In the Korean translation, the Kiltartan dialect was not translated in its original form, but was changed as it was translated into the standard Korean language like other Korean translations of other Irish plays; there was nothing to indicate that the play had originally been written in non-standard English.

There are also some manipulations of words in the Korean translation, which changes the tone of the original play. In the original play, when they arrived at the gate of the gaol where his son, Denis, is imprisoned, Mary Cahel wonders: “What call had he to go moonlighting or to bring himself into danger at all?” (Gregory 1915: 175). In Choe Jeong-u’s translation, “moonlighting” was translated into “夜間暴動 (night rioting)” (Gregory/Choe J. 1933). The choice of “暴動 (rioting)” may be interpreted that the translator secretly tried to convey the associated meaning of the word: political action. Thus, the Korean translation may be read as a play about political fighting against the colonisers and a martyr died in the process. Another prominent change is in translation of “sergeant”. In the original play, the sergeant searches Denis’s village Daire-caol to find people who were involved in the “moonlighting” and is described as having won a confession from Denis with drink. Mary Cushin, Denis’s wife, says, “The sergeant was boasting, ... the day he came searching Daire-caol, it was he himself go his confession with drink he had brought him in the gaol” (Gregory 1915: 176). In the Korean translation, “sergeant” was

translated into “辯護士 (lawyer)” (Gregory/Choe J. 1933). Later, it is revealed that the sergeant lied about the confession when only Denis is to be hanged. Mary Cahel says, “Then the sergeant was lying and the people were lying when they said Denis Cahel had informed in the gaol?” (Gregory 1915: 184). In the Korean translation, the “sergeant” was also translated into “辯護士”. This change may be done on the translator’s initiative to pass the coloniser’s censorship or as the result of the coloniser’s censorship. From the Japanese coloniser’s point of view, the original text might have been interpreted as creating antagonism toward the colonisers among the Koreans because the sergeant, working for the government, makes martyrs. In the Korean version, it is ambiguous whom the lawyer stands for. The Korean translation has no trace of censorship on the face of it.

This play was produced on the Korean stage in June 1932, by the Silheom Mudae, about eight months previous to its publication. Although the translator for the stage was also Choe Jeong-u, who later translated it for publication, it is not known whether his published translation was the same as the script for the stage because the script has been lost. It seems that the reason for the choice of this play to be not only translated, but also staged, can be deduced from the Korean situation under colonialism: under the assimilation policy of the colonisers, martyrs could be found quite frequently. For example, as one of assimilation policies, the Japanese colonial government exacted worship at Shinto⁶⁸ shrines from the Korean people, but many Christians refused to obey because idolatry was against their faith and, as a result, they were killed by the colonial government.

Following Lady Gregory, the next Irish playwright to be translated was J. M.

⁶⁸ Shinto is “Japanese traditional religion, as opposed to foreign religions such as Christianity, Buddhism, Islam and so forth” (Inoue 2003: 1).

Synge, one of the cofounders of the Abbey Theatre. Although *Riders to the Sea* was the only one of his plays to be translated and published in colonial Korea, it seems to have been considered the most important play in modern Korean theatre together with Gregory's *The Rising of the Moon*, as these two plays were translated as many as three times, each time by a different translator. Gim Gwang-seop commented on this play:

「바다로 가는 者」에서 一幕劇의 最高水準을 보이고 있으며 그 素材는 모두 다 文化가 接觸되지 아니한 愛蘭土의 原始生活에서 發想한 흙문은대로의 詩라 할 수 있다. (1935b)

Riders to the Sea is an acme of a one-act play. Its subject matter is the primitive state of nature in Ireland, which has not been contaminated by civilisation.

Riders to the Sea was first translated by Bak Yong-cheol and published in 1922 in *Gaebyeok* and later translated by Jang Gi-je and another translator, whose name is not known, and published in 1930 in the monthly magazines *Daejung Gongron* and *Byeolgeongon* respectively. This play was not staged in colonial Korea.

It is a one-act tragedy, which was first performed at the Molesworth Hall, Dublin, by the Irish National Theatre Society in 1904. Set in a cottage on an island off the west coast of Ireland in the 1900s, this play depicts the struggles of rural fishermen to make a living in the Aran Islands. Maurya, who has already lost her husband, father-in-law, and four sons to the sea and is worrying about her other son, Michael, who is missing at the sea, appeals to her last and only remaining son, Bartley, to stay, when he has planned to sail to Connemara to sell a horse. Maurya's daughter, Nora, brings her sister a bundle of clothes taken off a drowned man in

Donegal, which, they are sure, belonged to Michael. Later, some villagers bring in the corpse of Bartley, who has fallen off his horse into the sea and drowned. This play is based on the author's experiences on the Aran Islands, which he visited several times from 1898 to 1902, and is filled with Anglo-Irish dialect (Kiberd 1979: 81-82) and strong Irish folk beliefs and mythology (ibid.: 163-68). This was the "only one of Synge's plays presented during his lifetime that did not occasion angry denunciations from audiences in Ireland" (Gerstenberger 1990: 36).

The reason for choosing this play to translate seems to be that it was "an acme of a one-act play" as Gim Gwang-seop pointed out above. The translator might have had in mind the idea that model plays were required to improve the "young" modern Korean dramatic polysystem. As discussed in Chapter 1, the modern Korean theatre movement was launched only in 1921, so the modern Korean dramatic polysystem was young. In this case, translated literature was crucial to improve the host polysystem as Even Zohar argued (2004: 200-01).

Another reason might have been that Irish rural fishermen's struggles to make a living could have resonances for Korean rural people and their struggles living under colonialism. Although, as Brockett and Findlay said (1973: 167), the theme Synge intended to deliver in *Riders to the Sea* was "man face to face with his mortality", this play might have had resonances for poverty-stricken rural Korean people: For example, just as the men in *Riders to the Sea* lost their lives to the sea in the struggles to make a living, Korean people had to sell their daughters to make a living under colonialism.

Bak Yong-cheol's translation was the first translation of Irish drama in modern Korean theatre; it reveals many mistranslations. For example, the relationship between the characters is misunderstood: Nora, who is Maurya's younger daughter in the original play, is introduced as "a young girl". Sometimes she is described as

Maurya's future daughter-in-law and sometimes as her granddaughter. Thus, the changes do not seem to be intentional.

Jang Gi-je's translation and the anonymous translation show similar translation strategies of alteration, deletion, substitution, addition, and so on. These translation strategies were used to stress the suffering of Irish fishermen, who might have been interpreted as the Korean people under colonialism, and to narrow the gap between Korean and Irish cultures so that Korean readers could understand the play more easily.

First of all, the title of the play was changed from *Riders to the Sea* to *Badaro Naaganeun Saramdeul* (People to the Sea) in the anonymous translation (*Byeolgeongon* 1930: 160). The choice of the word "*Saramdeul* (people)" in the translated title weakens the vigorous, challenging and positive image that the original title "Riders" had. Thereby, the sufferings of the characters in the play were given more emphasis than in the original play. In this context, the two translators situated the characters in a condition of poverty: in the description of the setting, Jang translated "cottage kitchen" as "*makseori jip bueok* (odd jobber's cottage kitchen)" (1930: 208), while the anonymous translator translated it as "*jogoman eomin-ui jip* (small fisherman's cottage)" (*Byeolgeongon* 1930: 160). Both translators stressed the poverty of the characters by adding "odd jobber" and "small", which were not in the original text.

They also adopted similar strategies to reduce the cultural differences between Ireland and Korea. Religious terms were not familiar to Korean readers because Korea was not a Christian country. Thus, both of the translators changed "the young priest", which means a Catholic priest, into a Protestant clergyman and deleted or translated religious expressions such as "God help her" into secular expressions such as "Poor mother". Irish culture-specific terms were also substituted by Korean

culture-specific terms: for example, “cake” was substituted by Korean rice cake in both translations. Some scenes were described using these substitutions so that Korean readers would feel as if the play were set in Korea. For example, the first stage directions were translated as follows. The original text says:

CATHLEEN, a girl of about twenty, finishes kneading cake, and puts it down in the pot-oven by the fire; then wipes her hands. (Synge 1960: 83)

This was translated as:

스무 살쯤된 카스린 밀가루를 반죽하여 火窯에 걸린 가마에
넣고 행주치마로 손을 닦는다. (Synge/*Byeolgeongon* 1930: 160)

CATHLEEN, a girl of about twenty, finishes kneading flour, and puts it down in the cauldron over a fire hole; then wipes her hands on her *haengjuchima*.

The translated text describes the image of a traditional Korean woman cooking, using a black cauldron, which was traditionally used to cook rice, a staple food of Korea, and a *haengjuchima*, an apron that was worn with the Korean traditional costume *Hanbok*. This image of a Korean woman is kept throughout the play:

CATHLEEN. She's lying down, God help her, and may be sleeping, if she's able. [*Nora comes in softly, and takes a bundle from under her shawl.*] (Synge 1960: 83)

This was translated as:

카스린 (끝까지 沈着해서) 주무시나보다. 어머니도 가여우시지.
 아마 고생고생하시다 잠이나 들어보실려는게지. (노-라, 살그머니
 들어와서 치마 속에서 보통이 하나를 내놓는다) (Synge/
Byeolgeongon 1930: 160)

CATHLEEN [*calmly throughout*]. She may be sleeping, poor mother. She
 probably is sleeping after she twisted and turned in pain. [*Nora comes in
 softly, and takes a bundle from under her skirt.*]

In the translated version, Nora is described as taking a bundle from her skirt instead of from her shawl. This scene is reminiscent of a traditional working class Korean woman. It was usual for a common Korean woman to carry something under her skirt. Jang and the anonymous translator, in general, leaned towards “adequacy”, in Toury’s terms, in their translations, that is to say, they tried to be faithful to the source language and culture,⁶⁹ but they also tried to make their translations acceptable in the target culture by domesticating culture-specific terms.

Lord Dunsany’s works were also translated into Korean during the 1920s and 1930s and all of them were fantasy plays, which are set in invented fictional worlds with their own gods and geography. Dunsany was a poet, novelist, and lecturer as well as an Irish chess champion, a big game hunter, a traveller and a soldier. He began writing plays when Yeats, who wished to ‘get him into the movement’ (that is, the Irish Renaissance), asked him to write a play for the Abbey Theatre, and his early plays were staged, with considerable success, at the Abbey Theatre (Joshi 1995: 1-4).

⁶⁹ Adequacy is the term used by Gideon Toury when he discusses translational norms. He says “whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation’s adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability” (Toury 1995: 56-61).

His early plays “achieved greatest renown at the Haymarket in London and on Broadway, where in 1916, Dunsany became the only playwright in history to have five plays running simultaneously [and by 1916, he had become] one of the most critically acclaimed writers in both Great Britain and the United States” (ibid.: 1-4).⁷⁰ The first of his plays to be translated into Korean was *The Glittering Gate*. It was translated by Gim U-jin and published in the weekly magazine *Dongmyeong* in 1923. This was Dunsany’s first play written for production at the Abbey Theatre at the request of Yeats and it was first performed at the Abbey Theatre on April 29, 1909, and later in Manchester, Belfast, and London. When it reached New York in 1915, the reviews were mostly lukewarm, a few favourable, and some with objections on religious and other grounds, [although] it went over well enough with audiences (Schweitzer 1989: 41).

Like many of his plays, this play deals with an imaginary realm. Two recently deceased burglars are before the locked gates of Heaven. One is wearily uncorking beer bottles, each of which proves to be empty. The other manages to jimmy the lock on the gate, expecting to find orchards full of apples, his old mother and angels; however, when the gates swing open, he is greeted only by dark night and stars.

The reason for the choice of this play for publication and staging might have been its relevance to the Korean situation from the perspective of Korean intellectuals. Korean people viewed the Irish people as yearning for fantasy and wandering as a means to escape from colonial despotism, as discussed in section 2.2. Consequently, *The Glittering Gate* could have been interpreted as having resonances for the Korean people.

In 1924, Dunsany’s *Fame and the Poet* was translated by Jo Yeong-dae and

⁷⁰ The five plays were his pre-war drama which brought him most of his theatrical reputation: *The Glittering Gate*, *King Argimenes*, *The Gods of the Mountain*, *The Golden Doom*, and *The Lost Silk Hat*. These were collected as *Five Plays* in 1914 (Schweitzer 1989: 56).

published in the monthly magazine *Sincheonji*. This play was translated again by An Yong-sun in 1934. As in other plays by Dunsany, fantastic elements, such as the actual appearance of gods, are used. Harry de Reves, a poet, has offered all his creations without reward or recognition at the altar of Fame. Now he has just completed his best work, a sonnet, but he feels that he has wasted his life in pursuit of an illusion, a Fame he shall never see. Just as he is about to burn all his work, Fame herself, “in a Greek dress with a long golden trumpet in her hand,” appears before him. However, he finds that “she talks like a Cockney street girl with dropped ‘aitches, is loud, and has hopelessly bad manners” (Schweitzer 1989: 62). As Schweitzer comments: “The obvious message is that fame is cheap and vulgar, not at all to be desired by the true artist” (ibid.: 62).⁷¹ Jo Yeong-dae’s translation is no longer available, so it is not possible to know how Cockney was translated. An Yong-sun’s version did not translate the Cockney element, so Fame was not depicted as “cheap” and “vulgar”. The reason why An translated this play seems to be due to his interest in Dunsany. He also published an essay about Dunsany in 1933.

Dunsany’s *Golden Doom* (written 1912) was translated by Jang Gi-je and published in 1931 and his *The Tents of the Arabs* (written 1910) was translated by Yi Ha-yun and published in 1932.⁷² The *Golden Doom*, set at a King’s great door in Zericon, some time before the fall of Babylon, is a very short one-act play that addresses the inconsequentiality of politics and the role of chance in human affairs. A little boy, who wants a hoop to play with, approaches the King’s great door with a little girl to ask for it. Using a lump of gold that he has found in a stream, he writes a silly short poem on the wall, as dictated by the girl. A prophet finds the poem,

⁷¹ Considering that Dunsany’s theatrical reputation in England was evaporating even as he wrote (he called the situation “black neglect”), this may be interpreted as sour grapes. (Schweitzer 1989: 48)

⁷² *The Tents of the Arabs* was translated by the same translator Yi Ha-yun and published in 1956 in magazine P.E.N that featured Irish literature (P.E.N 2:4. May 1956).

interprets it as a warning against pride, and urges the King to lay down his crown and sceptre by the door as a peace offering to the gods for his hubris. The little boy comes back, thinks the crown is the hoop for which he has asked, and takes it away. As Darrell Schweitzer points out, “The blatant point is that in the overall scheme of things the fate of a kingdom and the whim of a child are the same” (1989: 48). The translator might have wanted this play to be read in relation to the situation of Korea under colonial rule: after all, colonial power is inconsequential and can easily collapse by chance in human affairs, although in the present it looks powerful and eternal.

The Tents of the Arabs was performed in Paris in 1914, in Detroit, the US, in 1916 and later at the Abbey Theatre in 1920. This two-act play tells the story of a King who escapes to spend a year of freedom in the desert, and on his return finds his place has been taken by an impostor, so returns to the romantic life of the desert. This play was translated by Yi Ha-yun for the second production of the Silheom Mudae: it was supposed to be performed together with St John Ervine’s *The Magnanimous Lover* (Donggwang 35. 1932: 113), but it was excluded from the repertoire probably because it was not a one-act play. Regarding the selection criteria for the second production of the theatre company, Jang Gi-je, who translated *The Magnanimous Lover* for the production, stated in the *Dong-A Ilbo*:

實驗舞臺는 그 第 二回 試演의 레퍼-터리를 特別히 一幕物을
取하였다. ... 于先 우리는 本來의 演劇 시즌이 아닌
夏期上演으로 하여금 우리의 生理的要件에 可及的의 適應性을
찾게 하자는 것이니 길게 連續되는 一個의 事件을 進展시켜가는
多幕劇보다는 차라리 짤막 짤막한 몇 個의 一幕物이 炎熱과
支離에서 나는 倦怠의 嫌을 救하기에 얼마 나으리라는 것이오

또 우리 劇場의 觀衆은 흔히 一幕劇의 形式에 接하였음이
事實이다. (1932a)

The Silheom Mudae theatre company has selected one-act plays for their second production for particular reasons. ... First of all, this production has been scheduled for the summer, the low-season, when it is too hot for the theatre. It was necessary to meet physiological conditions of the audience: it was considered desirable to stage a series of one-act plays rather than a full-length play, so that the audience could concentrate and not feel bored. Furthermore, the Korean audience has been accustomed to one-act plays.

In light of this statement, the choice of more one act plays than any other type to be translated and published might have been due to the practical reason that a one act play would be easier to print in magazines or newspapers.

Shin Jeong-ok, a drama critic and scholar, thought *The Tents of the Arabs*, which described a king who longed for Mecca, gave up his crown and returned to a life of freedom, must have given the Irish and Korean audience under colonialism romantic dreams and ideals (1994: 217). Or it might have been a reflection of their existing dreams and ideals.

Translations of Dunsany's works account for the greatest number of plays in the translated Irish drama list in colonial Korea: five translations of his four works were published. The reason that his works were so popular was related to his representation in modern Korean theatre. He was treated as a major dramatist of the Irish dramatic movement (Yu C. 1932c; Gim Yong-su 1931; Gim Gwang-seop 1935a and 1935b) and his works were thought to describe the Irish people under colonialism (An Y. 1933a): the Irish people, in the view of Korean intellectuals,

depended on fantasy as a way to escape from the harsh reality of their world (Gim Gwang-seop 1935a; An Y. 1933a).

In 1931, Sean O'Casey's two-act tragedy *The Shadow of a Gunman* was translated by Jang Gi-je. This play, first performed at the Abbey Theatre in 1923 as part of the Dublin trilogy, was "the first play by O'Casey, at the age of 43, to meet with success, and, together with his other Dublin plays, made him the darling of the Abbey Theatre" (Patterson 2005: 372-73). It was the only play of his that was translated into Korean during the colonial period. This Korean version of *The Shadow* will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, where the reception and position of O'Casey's plays in Korean theatre under colonial rule will be explored as a whole.

In 1932, St. J. Ervine's one-act play *The Magnanimous Lover* was translated, also by Jang Gi-je, and staged in Korea in the same year. This play was first performed at the Abbey Theatre in October 1912. Ervine was from Belfast and managed the Abbey Theatre for a year from July 1915,⁷³ where he had begun his career with plays on Northern Irish subjects: *Mixed Marriage* (1911), *The Magnanimous Lover* (1912), *John Ferguson* (1915). These plays completed the national geography of the Abbey's drama:

He [Ervine] was the cartographer of this province, Co. Down particularly.

He knew its vernacular and was accustomed to its convivialities as well as its 'dull angers and ancient rages'. (Maxwell 1984: 81)

The Magnanimous Lover focuses on Henry Hind's proposal of marriage and

⁷³ Between 1914 and 1919, four managers were successively in charge of the Abbey Theatre. The fourth, St. John Ervine, was an "imaginative and disastrous choice. ... He never desisted from passionate and derogatory comment on Irish affairs, political and dramatic." The Abbey actors disagreed politically with their manager. Defied on his demand for extra rehearsals, Ervine fired the whole company and shortly afterwards resigned from the theatre (Maxwell 1984: 80).

Maggie Cather's refusal of his proposal. Henry has come back to his hometown to propose to Maggie whom he had abandoned ten years previously. Maggie had had to live through contempt and disgrace together with her illegitimate son in her hometown where everybody knew her. Knowing that Henry is asking for a marriage not out of love for her, but out of a desire for salvation, Maggie refuses it. When this play was produced at the Abbey Theatre in 1912, critics were quite definitely hostile:

The critic of one Dublin newspaper dismissed the play in a few sentences, with the comment that he was 'not a sanitary inspector'. This play ... was also attacked in the American press as a part of the effort to disparage the entire Irish drama. (Malone 1929: 117)

As a way of countering this particular attack, Ervine, who knew the newspaper critics of Dublin, wrote a play, *The Critics*, which had as its setting the vestibule of the Abbey Theatre, and in it he ridiculed them, but it did nothing to change the newspaper critics or their standards of criticism (Malone 1929: 117).

The Korean translation of this play is faithful to the source text as a whole, although the language used in the translation is not so colloquial. One peculiar thing in the translation is that some maxims in the stage description, such as "What is a Home Without a Mother," "There is No Place Like Home," and "Blessed are the Humble and Meek," are printed in English together with their Korean translations (Ervin/Jang G. 1932: 101). This was probably for performance use because this translation was for the stage production. At the end of the translated text, a note was added:

「寬大한 愛人」은 六月廿八日부터 三日間 朝鮮劇場에서 上演할

「實驗舞臺 第二回試演」의 脚本입니다. (*Donggwang* 35. 1932: 113)

The Magnanimous Lover is a script for the second production of the Silheom Mudae, which will be presented for three days from 28 June at the Joseon Theatre.

This play was staged by the Silheom Mudae in 1932. The choice of this play to be translated and also staged seems to be ascribed to its story, which could be easily understood by the common Korean audience. In selecting a repertoire for performance, one of the criteria that the GeukYeon always considered was the level of sophistication of the Korean audience (Yu C. 1935c). They tried to select the plays that the audience could easily understand. It seems that *The Magnanimous Lover* was selected for both publication and staging in this context.

In 1936, Yeats' *The Only Jealousy of Emer* was translated into Korean with the title *Fighting the Waves* by Yim Hak-su, a poet and scholar of English literature. This play, written in 1917 and 1918, was staged in May 1926 at the Abbey Theatre and adapted in 1929 by Yeats into the ballet *Fighting the Waves* for the Abbey School of Ballet (Flannery 1976: 285). This play addresses the struggle of three women to own Cuchulain: Cuchulain's wife Emer, his mistress Eithne Ingube, and Fand, a spirit of immortal beauty. Cuchulain's dead body is brought back to life through a kiss by Eithne, but upon awakening, the ghost of Cuchulain is seen to have been possessed by Fand. In order to reawaken Cuchulain, Emer renounces her right to his love forever, and Cuchulain reawakens, calling out for the arms of Eithne Ingube. As Flannery points out, it explores the ambiguous relationship between love, sexual desire, and mortal versus immortal fulfilment (1976: 46). Emer has the hope that some day and somewhere she and Cuchulain will "sit together at the hearth again", but she has to give up her right to his love forever to reawaken Cuchulain. It

can be said that she is immortal when she has hope but she is dead when she renounces the hope. Probably she should be mortal to make Cuchulain immortal.

Another play by Yeats, *The Words upon the Window Pane*, was translated also by Yim Hak-su and published in the monthly magazine *Munjang* in 1939. This one-act play, first staged at the Abbey Theatre in 1930, explores the occult, in which Yeats had a lifelong interest. Featuring a séance, where the ghost of Jonathan Swift appears, it centres on a romantic triangle involving Jonathan Swift and two women: Vanessa, who proposed marriage to him, and Stella, whom he loved. The most prominent point in this translation is that it has a translator's note, the only case of this among translations of Irish drama.

The translator's note includes the background of the creation of the Abbey Theatre, Yeats' contribution to the creation, and the plot of *The Words*. Regarding the background of the Abbey's creation, Yim said that the Irish people have been exhausted with the wandering and oppression of seven hundred years and rather than this world full of suffering and sorrow only, they came to long for the realm of youth where immortal and ever-young heroes and elves live (1939: 93-94). This understanding of the Irish people as victims of colonialism reflects the representation of the Irish people in Korean theatre.

These two plays were not staged in colonial Korea. These plays seem to have been selected because of the reputation of the author. Yeats won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923 and was a famous writer. As mentioned in section 2.2 prestige can be one of the reasons for a source literature being selected (Even-Zohar 1990: 59). The choice of Yeats' works might have been to improve the "young" Korean dramatic polysystem.

During the 1920s and 30s, seventeen translations of twelve works by six Irish playwrights were published, including four works by Lord Dunsany, three works by

Lady Gregory, two works by Yeats, and one work each by J. M. Synge, Sean O'Casey, and St. J. Ervine. The list shows that Dunsany and Gregory were the most popular playwrights. Although O'Casey was a very important figure in the Irish dramatic movement, he appears as a peripheral playwright in the published Irish drama list. Furthermore, O'Casey's work was never performed in Korea under colonialism because of the colonial government's censorship. The list of Irish drama published in Korea can be summarised as follows:

Table 1. Published Irish playwrights and works

Author	Source Text Title	Target Text Title	Translator	Source
Lord Dunsany	<i>The Glittering Gate</i>	<i>Beonjjeogineun Mun</i>	Gim U-jin	<i>Dongmyeong</i> 2.16. April 1923: 8-9.
	<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	<i>Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin</i>	Jo Yeong-dae	<i>Sincheonji</i> 2. April 1924.
	<i>Golden Doom</i>	<i>Hwanggeum Unmyeong</i>	Jang Gi-je	<i>Munye Wolgan</i> 1.1. (1931): 83-93
	<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i>	<i>Arabia ui Cheonmak</i>	Yi Ha-yun	<i>Donggwang</i> 36 (1932): 107-17.
	<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	<i>Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin</i>	An Yong-sun	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i> 6 to 9 Dec. 1934.
Lady Gregory	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Daltt'eul Tt'ae</i>	Bak Yong-cheol	<i>Gaebyeok</i> 16 (1921): 124- 33.
	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Wolchul</i>	Choe Byeong-han	<i>Daejung Gongron</i> 27 (1930): 192-200.
	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Wolchul</i>	Choe Jeong-u	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i> . 3 to 15 Oct. 1931.
	<i>The Workhouse Ward</i>	<i>Binminwon</i>	Choe Jeong-u	<i>Donggwang</i> 35 (1932): 114-19.
	<i>The Gaol Gate</i>	<i>Okmun</i>	Choe Jeong-u	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i> 8 to 14 Feb. 1933.
J.M	<i>Riders to the Sea</i>	<i>Badaro Ganeun Jadeul</i>	Bak Yong-cheol	<i>Gaebyeok</i> 25 (1922): 53-65.

	<i>Riders to the Sea</i>	<i>Badaro Ganeun Gija</i>	Jang Gi-je	<i>Daejung Gongron</i> 22 (1930): 208-19.
	<i>Riders to the Sea</i>	<i>Badaro Naaganeun Saramdeul</i>	Unknown	<i>Byeolgeongon</i> 5.10 (1930): 160-68.
Sean O'Casey	<i>The Shadow of a Gunman</i>	<i>Pyeonuida ui Geurimja</i>	Jang Gi-Je	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i> . 21 Aug. - 22 Sept. 1931.
St. J. Ervine	<i>The Magnanimous Lover</i>	<i>Gwandaehan Aein</i>	Jang Gi-je	<i>Donggwang</i> 35 (1932): 101-13.
William B. Yeats	<i>The Only Jealousy of Emer</i>	<i>Pungrang gwa ui Ssaum</i>	Yim Hak-su	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i> . 4-10 July 1936.
	<i>The Words upon the Window Pane</i>	<i>Changsals e namun sitgu</i>	Yim Hak-su	<i>Munjang</i> 1.4 (1939): 92- 156.

As a whole, it seems that the choice of which play to translate was made in relation to the Korean situation or the Korean dramatic polysystem. This means that the position of Irish drama in Korean theatre was related to that of translated drama as a whole in modern Korean theatre. The position of translated drama was threefold: innovation, subversion and the formation of a national identity, as discussed in section 1.4. It can be said that Irish drama was imported as one of a number of means to serve these purposes.

Translation strategies were also adopted in relation to these purposes. Generally, translation strategies, such as domestication, generalisation, and adding, were adopted to improve the understanding of the Korean readers while keeping the original setting and plot. This should be interpreted as the result of trying to find the balance between the need to improve the “young” Korean dramatic polysystem and the need to improve the understanding of Korean readers and so educate the Korean people. Thus, conflicting strategies of foreignisation and domestication were adopted to achieve the purposes of Korean theatre of establishing a national theatre and arousing the Korean people. Translational norms in Korean theatre under colonial

rule will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.2.

2.3.2. Staged Irish Playwrights and Works

During the colonial period, the young theatre groups played a part in dispersing information about the Irish playwrights and giving the experience of Irish plays to people other than the intellectuals who read them in the journals or newspapers. The following is an examination of all stage productions of Irish plays during the 1920s and 1930s. The plays are discussed in chronological order as they were staged in Korea. Scripts of the Irish dramas that were used for the Korean stage under colonial rule or recordings of staged production are no longer available; during the Korean War, a conflict between Communist and non-Communist forces in Korea from June 1950 to July 1953, that material was lost or burned, so we can only guess what they would have been like on the stage, relying on secondary sources, such as reviews and newspapers articles.

Irish drama was first staged in Korea in 1921 when the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe produced Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate*. This play was translated and directed by Gim U-jin. Gim published his translation of this play later in 1923 in the monthly magazine *Dongmyeong*, but it is not certain whether this translation was the same as the script he used for the stage because currently the script is not available. Therefore, it is possible only to guess what translation strategies were employed in the scripts through the criticism or comments on the performances. Although Gim was supposed to have selected *The Glittering Gate* for his first production partly under the influence of the Japanese theatrical world at that time (Seo Y. 1983: 289), where more translated dramas than original ones were staged, the most important reason was probably that he was impressed by the Irish national theatre movement. This play gave Dunsany the reputation of "a new star" of the movement (Yi D. 1981:

104-06). The *Dong-A Ilbo* daily introduced this play as follows:

던세니의 神學은 『The Gods of Pegāna』 (1915)中에 具體적으로 써 있다. 이 戲曲에도 人間의 運命의 神 - 正體를 잘 모르는 運命의 嘲弄者와 現實에 執着하되 亦是 아무것도 空이라는 作者의 思想이 두렵게도 巧妙한 劇的表現으로 提示되었나이다. (27 July 1921)

Dunsany's theology, as expressed in *The Gods of Pegāna* (1915),⁷⁴ is concretised in this play: through dramatic expressions, it deals with a mysterious Fortune who makes a fool of human beings' fate and with the author's philosophy that everything is but nought.

The above comment reveals the understanding of *The Glittering Gate* in Korean theatre as demonstrating a nihilistic approach. This approach can be understood to have been ascribed to the colonial situation of Korea as Koreans felt they could not have any hope for the future.

The performances of this play together with two Korean original plays received ovations from the Korean audience. After the performances, they received favourable comments: in an interview, Ma Hae-song, a Korean writer of juvenile stories, said its stage setting and lighting, particularly, had been received favourably (Yi D. 1981: 107).

Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain* was staged by the Towolhoe in July 1924. This three-act play premiered at the Haymarket Theatre in London on June 1, 1911, and ran for three months with the house packed (Schweitzer 1989: 46). As Joshi also

⁷⁴ *The Gods of Pegāna* is Dunsany's first book, published in 1905. It is considered to have been a major influence on the works of J. R. R. Tolkien and many others.

points out, it deals with the folly of unthinking religious belief (1995: 60). Agmar, the leader of a band of beggars, devises a plan whereby seven of their members will pose as the seven green jade gods of the mountain so that they may receive all the food and shelter they need. He spreads a prophecy “which saith that the gods who are carven from green rock in the mountain shall one day arise in Marma and come here in the guise of men” (Dunsany 1914: 10). The prophecy is believed and the people accept the beggars as the gods. When the people begin to doubt if they are real, the true gods of the mountain come down to turn the seven beggars to stone. The people are then convinced that they were the real gods.

This play was adapted and directed by Bak Seung-hui and performed by the Towolhoe theatre company from 3 to 5 July in 1924 to observe the first anniversary of the opening of the Towolhoe (Shin J. 1994: 211). Bak Seung-hui, who later created, translated and adapted about 200 works, was a student at that time (ibid.: 211). While he was studying in Japan, he was attracted to modern theatre and frequented the theatre districts for three years to learn modern theatre. Although it is not possible to know what his adaptation of *The Gods* was like, Korean scholar of drama Yi Du-hyeon presume that he adapted the Japanese version of the play. The play was adapted and first performed in 1919 in Japan (Yi D. 1981: 135).

It is interesting that *The Gods* was also used in creating Italian theatre. Luigi Pirandello, who wanted to “create a specifically Italian theatre that would have something unique to offer the rest of the world,” set up the *Teatro d'Arte*, in the refurbished *Teatro Odescalchi* in Rome, and staged this play under Mussolini in 1925 (Bassnett 1987: 349-51). In this production, Pirandello used light effectively: the final scene of this play, in which seven actors were turned into green stone statues, was dependent on lighting effects (ibid.: 349-51). In fact, this scene was considered a mistake; Schweitzer says that Dunsany made a serious technical

blunder by bringing the gods on stage when he would have done better to have left the appearance of the gods to the audience's imagination (1989: 47).

Dunsany's *Fame and the Poet* was also staged by the Towolhoe in April 1925. Bak Seung-hui directed the production. In the same year, J. M. Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* was also produced by the Towolhoe under the direction of Bak Seung-hui.

In the Shadow of the Glen dealt with the comic situation of the young woman unhappily married to a decrepit husband. When her cantankerous elderly husband dies, Nora Burke and a young farmer Michael plan their wedding, but her husband, who had only pretended to be dead, leaps up and shows her the door. As her timid lover won't go with her, she takes to the roads with a tramp who promises her a life of freedom on the roads.⁷⁵

The choice of this play to stage seems to be related to the representation of the Irish people in Korean theatre. In Korean theatre, the Irish people were depicted as longing for vagabondism to escape the despotic rule of colonialism. In this sense, the play might have been interpreted as describing the realities of the Irish people under colonialism.

There is no record of the audience's response to the Korean production of *Fame and the Poet* and *In the Shadow of the Glen*, but the critical comments on the performances of the Towolhoe's translated drama as a whole by Sim Hun show that their performances did not appeal to Korean audiences:

⁷⁵ When this play was produced in Molesworth Hall in 1903, it "was greeted with hissing [and] all the Dublin newspapers had been similarly outraged by the play" (Krause 1975: 60-61). Krause pointed out that "at the turn of the century zealous Irishmen were so serious about their national character they were in no mood to laugh at their own image in the dramatist's satiric mirror" (ibid.: 61).

特殊한 敎養이 없는 觀衆에게 恪독恪독한 西洋劇 飜案物을 보이느니보다 腸胃에 맞는 김치 各독이를 먹이되 그 속에 滋養物과 消化劑를 양념으로 곁들여주기에 全力을 傾注하자는 말이다. 그러한 題材는 檢閱網에 걸리지 않는 範圍內에도 얼마든지 있을 것이 아닌가. 이것이 우리의 新劇運動者가 밝고 나아가야 할 막다른 길ियो 土月會舞臺가 移動될 方向이 또한 이곳에 있다고 보는 것이다. (1929)

Let us concentrate our energies on presenting our own drama that is nourishing and understandable rather than presenting adaptations of Western drama to the uneducated audience. We could find many subject matters that are not against the code of [the coloniser's] censorship. This is the goal of our modern theatre movement and this is the course that the Towolhoe theatre company should pursue.

Sim Hun's comments suggest that the adaptations performed by the Towolhoe did not gain very favourable responses because their subject matters were not related to the real life of the Korean audience. This means that those adaptations were not a "cultural transplantation" in terms of the definition by Hervey and Higgins, according to whom, cultural transplantation is "the wholesale transplanting of the entire setting of the ST, resulting in the text being completely rewritten in an indigenous target culture setting" (1992: 30-31). In addition, the use of the term "uneducated audience" shows that most of the audience were not educated intellectuals and that they were used to the *sinpa* style of acting and melodrama: they were not familiar with realistic modern theatre and it was not easy for them to understand modern theatre in terms of subject matters and acting style.

College student theatre clubs also staged Dunsany's plays. *The Gods of the*

Mountain was put on the stage by Ewha Girl's College theatre club in February 1929; its translator and director are not known. In June 1933, *The Tents of the Arabs* was staged by Yeonhui College theatre club under the director Yi Ha-yun (*Geukyesul* 1. 1934: 57). Before this production, the Yeonhui College theatre club had successfully presented Henrik Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea* (written 1888) on an open-air stage. *The Tents of the Arabs* was selected for the second production of the repertoire to be staged in the open-air theatre of the college that had been completed in Spring 1933 (Shin J. 1994: 216).

The performances by college student theatre clubs were influenced by the modern Korean theatre movement. After the March First Independence Movement, many young patriotic intellectuals began to raise people's awareness: students of social science gave lectures and students of the arts and humanities presented public performances (Yu M. 2006a: 244). Thus, many student theatre clubs, including those at Ehwa Girl's College, Yeonhui College, Boseong College, Hyehwa College, and Severance Medical College, were formed, and presented plays during the 1920s and 1930s. These student theatre clubs staged many translated plays, including works by Dunsany, Gregory, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Galsworthy, Chekhov and O'Neill (Shin J. 1994: 216). The activities of the student theatre clubs constituted part of the modern Korean theatre movement, the goal of which was closely related to Korean cultural nationalism.

Among the works of Augusta Gregory that were published in colonial Korea, *The Rising of the Moon* and *The Gaol Gate*, which could be interpreted in relation to the Korean situation, were staged. *The Rising of the Moon* was directed by Yeon Hak-nyeon and performed by the Paskyula theatre company in July 1927. The audience response to this production is not known. *The Gaol Gate* was staged in June 1932 together with St J. Ervine's *The Magnanimous Lover* as the second

production of the *Silheom Mudae*. Both of these plays were directed by Hong Hae-seong (ibid.: 213). Jang Gi-je, the translator of *The Magnanimous Lover*, made an observation about the selection criteria in his essay '*Silheom Mudae 2-hoe Siyeon Sangyeon Geukbon-e Daehayeo* (Regarding the Scripts for the Second Production of the *Silheom Mudae*)' (1932). As mentioned earlier, Jang Gi-je commented on the reasons behind the decision to stage several one-act plays rather than one full-length play, citing the weather conditions and how they would affect the audience's ability to concentrate, and the fact that the Korean audiences were more accustomed to one-act plays.

Jang went on to discuss the position of one-act plays in modern theatre. Citing Frank Vernon's *The Twentieth-Century Theatre*, he stated that the rise and decline of one-act plays was in keeping with that of the repertory theatre. One-act plays, he said, featured in the repertories of the Abbey Theatre and the Gaiety Theatre in Manchester; in particular, the latter theatre company produced a group of playwrights called the Manchester School of playwrights.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he recommended taking note of Vernon's remark that, in one sense, it is justifiable to say that the form of the one-act play in Britain was perfected by this Manchester School (Jang G. 1932a). Jang's emphasis on the Manchester School shows that the *Silheom Mudae* theatre company also aimed at the cultivation of playwrights through staging one-act plays.

Jang also introduced the authors and plots of, and commented on *The*

⁷⁶ In 1907, Annie Horniman opened a repertory theatre in the refurbished Gaiety Theatre, the first such theatre in mainland Britain and one that set in motion the burgeoning repertory theatre movement. The Gaiety also helped to foster an identifiable 'Manchester school' of playwrights, consisting of writers such as Elizabeth Baker, Harold Brighouse, Stanley Houghton, and Allan Monkhouse, noted for their use of contemporary realism, industrial working-class settings, and Lancashire dialect. (*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and Performance*. Vol. 2. edited by Dennis Kennedy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p.796)

Magnanimous Lover and *The Gaol Gate*. He introduced St. John Ervine as having been born in Northern Ireland, and having started literary life as a drama critic for *The London Daily Citizen*, becoming a dramatist when his play *Mixed Marriage* (1911) was staged at the Abbey Theatre. He then went on to say that Ervine wrote his great plays, including *The Magnanimous Lover*, *The Orangeman*, and *John Ferguson*, while he was a stage manager of the Abbey Theatre, and grasped reality in dealing with Irish subject matters, although not as imaginatively as did Synge (1932a).

Regarding *The Magnanimous Lover*, he commented:

『寬대한 愛人』은 一幕劇作家가 흔히 하듯이 어떤 事件을 보여주기 보다는 오히려 事件이란 衣裳 속에 어떤 理念을 보여주기 위하여 事件을 引用했다 함이 可할 것이다. 그러나 비록 引用된 事件일지라도 事件을 取扱하는 以上 그는 어디까지든지 儼然한 現實을 無視치 않으며 날카로운 寫實的主意 筆致를 選及한다. (Jang G. 1932a)

The Magnanimous Lover can be said to have adopted an event to show an ideology through the event rather than show the event as a one-act playwright does. However, the writer did not disregard the strict reality and adopted a sharp realistic style in describing the event.

Jang also published his comments on *The Gaol Gate* in the *Dong-A Ilbo*: “With the dramatic technique she had skilfully used in other plays, Lady Gregory showed the emotions of the main characters by focusing on a single situation” (1932b). Jang went on to present the summary of the play as follows:

어느 村에 일어난 政治的 暴動으로 因하여 이 獄中에 갇힌

靑年의 늙은 어머니와 젊은 아내이다. 風聞은 그 靑年이 同志를
密告했다는 非難이 있어 ... [그들은] 靑年은 死刑을 當했다는
것을 알게 된다. 두 女人은 獄門을 向하여 無法과 不正, 政治의
無道를 絶叫하며 希望을 잃은 者의 心痛한 痛哭이 일어난다. ...
그칠 줄 모르는 涕泣과 무거운 발자취가 舞臺에서 사라지며
천천히 幕. (1932b)

They are the old mother and young wife of a young man who has been
imprisoned because of a political riot in a village. Rumour has it that the
young man informed against his comrades. ... Soon after, they realise that
their man has been hung, and, facing the gaol gate in despair, they wail
and cry out against injustice, corruption and cruel politics. ... Ceaseless
crying and heavy steps gradually disappear until the curtain falls.

Judging from the above summary and Choe Jeong-u's published Korean version,
we can say that the young man, Denis Cahel, was interpreted in Korean theatre as
having been directly involved in a political riot and imprisoned as a result. In the
original text, Denis is described as a shepherd, and there is no hint that he was
involved in a political struggle:

MARY CAHEL. He that was used to the mountain to be closed up inside
of that! What call had he to go moonlighting or to bring himself into
danger at all? (Gregory 1909: 183)

Choe Jeong-u translated this line as:

카-엘. 山으로만 훨훨 돌아다니던 애가 저 속에 갇히다니 무슨

必要가 있어서 夜間暴動을 하고 危險한 곳에를 갔더라 말이나?
(Gregory/Choe J. 1933)

MARY CAHEL. He that was used to the mountain only to be closed up
inside of that! What need had he to go night rioting and to bring himself
into danger at all?

By substituting “moonlighting” with “night rioting”, Choe suggested that Denis had been involved in a political struggle. This means that this play was politically appropriated on the Korean stage. Given that the above summary by Jang says, “Ceaseless crying and heavy steps gradually disappear until the curtain falls,” it seems the end of the play was altered. It also seems that the performance of this play focused on the tragic aspects resulting from a political struggle rather than on the changes in two women’s emotions. Bak Yong-cheol’s comment indicates a similar view of the drama. Bak Yong-cheol commented on the production of *The Magnanimous Lover* and *The Gaol Gate* after he had watched the opening night of the production:

大體의 印象을 먼저 말하면 『寬大한 愛人』의 演出이 劇內容
情緒를 觀衆에게 傳達시키는 데 가장 成功한 것 같고
『獄門』은 未來事件의 展開가 없는 劇이나 不正한 法律을
表徵하는 높은 獄門 앞에서 아들이오 남편인 男子를 死刑當한
두 女子가 끝없이 痛哭하는 것이 悲劇愛好者인 우리 觀衆을
感動시킨 바 있었다. (1932)

Roughly speaking, *The Magnanimous Lover* seems to be successful in its presentation: it succeeded in the communication of its theme and sentiment to the audience. *The Gaol Gate*, which had no development of

events, was also successful: the scene of two women, who had lost their son and husband, wailing before the tall gaol gate, a symbol of unjust laws, moved the audience, who love tragedies.

Bak Yong-cheol also made critical comments. Regarding *The Magnanimous Lover*, he commented that the delicate mental disturbance was portrayed properly and the stage language and acting was rather direct (1932). Regarding Choe Jeong-u's translation of *The Gaol Gate*, he commented that "we request the Silheom Mudae to do a faithful translation" and "we could not be deeply moved by this kind of play that had no ups and downs or no conflicts." He went on to say that "this play may be suitable to be performed before enthusiastic theatregoers in a little theatre, but is not suitable to be staged where the audience is mixed" (1932).

Yi Heon-gu, a literary critic, made favourable comments on *The Magnanimous Lover* and *The Gaol Gate* in his essay discussing the activities of theatre companies in 1932: "They showed the most serious and earnest acting with a full range of genuine play scripts and the advanced stage and lighting of modern theatre" (1932).

However, Sim Hun was critical of the second production of the Silheom Mudae. He disagreed with the repertoires of the Silheom Mudae because, in his view, the plays dealt with nothing that related to the reality of Korea, the level of the Korean audience was not considered, the plays were selected on the basis of the repertoires of the Tsukiji Little Theatre in Japan without any consideration of the reality of Korea, the director and members of the theatre company were infatuated with foreign literature while neglecting the reality of Korea and the tastes of the Korean audience, and the essence of the theatre movement was not in staging famous plays (1932: 12).

The following remarks by Yu Chi-jin, a dramatist and director of the Silheom

Mudae, show that the translations leaned towards the original text in terms of “adequacy”: “Looking back on our past translation activities, the most important principle was to be faithful to the original playwrights” (Yu C. 1935e). Yu Chi-jin went on to say that such a faithful translation resulted in complaints and criticism from the Korean audiences and the literary world.

In December 1932, T. C. Murray’s *Birthright* was produced by the Myeongil Theatre Company as part of the opening programme of the Joseon Theatre in Seoul (Shin J. 1994: 215). Murray was a peasant playwright who dealt with the peasant and farming life of his native county of Cork. *Birthright* was first produced at the Abbey Theatre in October 1910, and it established him as a writer of tragic realism. This two-act tragedy relates the conflicts between two brothers over their birthright. This play was adapted by Bulmyeongwi for the stage at the Joseon Theatre with the title *Brothers* (ibid.: 215). It seems to have been an adaptation from the Japanese translation of the play (ibid.: 215). Yu Chi-jin critically attacked the performance because it was staged in a commercial theatre and thus the play was not in keeping with the ethos of the theatre. He was critical that the Myeongil Theatre Company did not make it clear that it was an adaptation from Murray’s original play:

왜(무슨 心事로!) 原作者의 이름은 숨기는지? ... 原作者의 이름을
걸어 무엇이 恥辱일까? 作者에 對한 體面上으로도 그래야만 할
것이고 우리의 良心上으로도 그리 아니치 못할 일이다. 그뿐만
아니다. 劇團의 權威上으로 보아도 甚至於 宣傳上으로도 너절하
게 누구누구 案이라 해놓는 것보다야 몇갑절 나을지 모를 일이
아닐까! 그것을 그저 어물어물하게 자기 이름 밑에다 『案』 字만
붙여서 내는 것은 너무나 鐵面皮的行事다. (Yu C. 1932d)

From what motive did they hide the original playwright’s name? ... It is

not disgraceful to show the original playwright's name. We should do that as a matter of courtesy for the playwright and of our conscience.

Furthermore, it would be more beneficial to the theatre company's authority and advertisement. It is brazen disrespect to show only the adapter's name.

Yu went on to comment on the acting and stage lighting:

第一劇의 呼吸을 맞추지 못하기 때문에 클라이막스에까지
引導할 氣分을 조절시킬 아무런 用意를 사지 못한다. 이 劇이
가져야 할 愛蘭의 沈痛味를 조금도 느끼지 못하게 한다. 오히려
그 沈痛味를 느끼게 해야 할 場面을 正反對의 喜劇으로
만들어버렸다. ... 그리고 照明이다. 第二幕에 와서는 寂寞한
深夜를 나타내기 위하여 좀더 光線을 集中시킬 必要가 있지
않을까 ... 演技로서는 아버지 (朴齊行)가 性格的이었다. 어머니
(南宮倬)는 좀더 自己役을 研究하여 주었으면 한다. (1932d)

By failing to adhere to the pace of a one-act play, the performance did not succeed in showing a climax or the mental agony of the Irish people. On the contrary, it turned the scene of mental agony into a comedy. ... The stage lighting was also unsuccessful. In Act 2, a calm night should have been conveyed with more converged lighting. ... The acting of the role of Father (Bak Je-haeng) was characteristic, but that of Mother (Nam Gung-ju) should have been acted with a more analytic attitude.

Gim Gwang-seop (1933f) also criticised the performance as being an example of the revue style.

Irish dramas staged in colonial Korea can be detailed as follows:

Table 2. Staged Irish playwrights and works

Author	Source Text Title	Target Text Title	Translator	Director	Theatre Company
Lord Dunsany	<i>The Glittering Gate</i>	<i>Challanhan Mun</i>	Gim U-jin	Gim U-jin	Geukyesul Hyeophoe, July 1921
	<i>The Gods of the Mountain</i>	<i>Jijanggyo ui Yurae</i>	Bak Seung-hui (adaptation)	Bak Seung-hui	Towolhoe, July 1924
	<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	<i>Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin</i>	unknown	Bak Seung-hui	Towolhoe, April 1925.
	<i>The Gods of the Mountain</i>	<i>Narma (misprint of Marma) ui Chilsin</i>	unknown	unknown	Ewha Girl's College, February 1929
	<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i>	<i>Arabia ui Cheonmak</i>	Yi Ha-yun	Yi Ha-yun	Yeonhui College, June 1933
Lady Gregory	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Wolchul</i>	unknown	Yeon Hak-nyeon	Paskyula, July 1927
	<i>The Gaol Gate</i>	<i>Okmun</i>	Choe Jeong-u	Hong Hae-seong	Silheom Mudae, June 1932
St. J. Ervine	<i>The Magnanimous Lover</i>	<i>Gwandaehan Aein</i>	Jang Gi-je	Hong Hae-seong	Silheom Mudae, June 1932
T.C. Murray	<i>Birthright</i>	<i>Hyeongje</i>	Bulmyeongwi (adaptation)	Bulmyeongwi	Myeong-II Theatre Company, Dec. 1932
J.M Synge	<i>In the Shadow of the Glen</i>	<i>Gokganyeong</i>	unknown	Bak Seung-hui	Towolhoe, April and Sept. 1925

Nine works by five playwrights were staged and six of them were also published. Among the others, three works were introduced only on the stage without being published in newspapers or magazines: Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain*,

Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen*, and Murray's *Birthright*. As shown in the published list, Dunsany occupied a central position on the Korean stage with five translations of his works being produced. Sean O'Casey, who is seen to be a peripheral playwright as regards published works, was not presented on the Korean stage at all.

As a whole, the reception of Irish drama on the stage does not seem to have been successful in appealing to a wider Korean audience. As can be inferred from the position of translated drama in Korean theatre, the motive for producing Irish drama on the Korean stage was to stimulate the national consciousness among Korean audiences, but it seems that this aim was only partly achieved. It can be said that one of the reasons behind this is due to the translation strategies adopted in presenting works for the stage. As can be surmised from the reviews published at that time, most translations leaned towards the original text in terms of “adequacy”, so they could not overcome the cultural gap between the original text and the Korean audience. However, it can be said that, through these performing activities, the translations laid the foundation for establishing a national theatre.

2.3.3. Reception through Radio Drama

Irish drama was also introduced through radio broadcasts. An article published in a drama journal *Geukyesul* shows that radio broadcasting was also employed as a means of the modern Korean theatre movement under colonialism:

第二放送(J.O.D.K.)이 생긴 이후 「라디오 드라마」가 次次
늘어가는 便이다. 이것도 演劇啓蒙의 한 좋은 方法이라고 하겠다.
(*Geukyesul* 2. 1934: 54)

Since the second channel of the J.O.D.K. radio broadcasting company was

created, the amount of radio drama has tended to increase. This is also a good way to improve Korean theatre.

The J.O.D.K. refers to the Gyeongseong radio broadcasting station, the first Korean radio broadcasting company. It was established on 30 November 1926 by the Japanese Government-General and first aired on 16 February 1927. The languages used in the first channel were Korean and Japanese, which resulted in the company having financial difficulties, as it failed to gain a positive response from Korean listeners. The second channel, whose language was the Korean vernacular, was created in 1932 as part of the programme to overcome these difficulties (Kim M. 2003: 145-46).

The fact that the Korean vernacular was the medium of broadcasting seems to have encouraged Korean intellectuals to use radio drama as a theatre movement. Essays on radio drama were also published: Yi Seok-hun published an essay titled '*Radio Deurama-e Daehaya* (About Radio Drama)' in a drama journal *Geukyesul* and identified the characteristics of radio drama. He also published an essay on radio drama titled '*Radio-wa Radio Deurama-ui Punggyeong* (The Landscape of Radio and Radio Drama)' in the *Dong-A Ilbo*. The *Geukyesul* introduced seven radio drama companies that were working in Seoul at that time (*Geukyesul* 2. 1934: 53). Given that translated drama assumed an important role in the modern Korean theatre movement, it is no wonder that many translated dramas were broadcast on the radio. According to an article in the *Geukyesul*, translated drama constituted much of the radio drama repertoire:

그러나 그 放送內容은 다음과 같은 傾向을 보이고 있으니

放送劇 淨化運動도 今後로 心要치 않을까! 放送劇本 八十五 中

(第二放送開始以後 十一月까지) 通俗的 又は 넌센스物 五五,
外國名劇(翻譯 及 脚色) 二七, 創作物 三. (*Geukyesul* 2. 1934: 54)

However, the following tendency shows the need for a cleanup movement in radio drama: among the 85 scripts broadcast between April and November 1932, there were 55 popular dramas or nonsense dramas, 27 translations or adaptations from foreign drama, 3 original Korean dramas.

It seems that “*tongsokgeuk* (popular drama)” here refers to the Japanese *sinpa* style of drama.

The GeukYeon also participated in radio drama, producing Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* (trans. by Bak Yong-cheol, dir. by Yu Chi-jin) in December 1933, and Tolstoy’s *Resurrection* (ad. by Ham Dae-hun, dir. by Hong Hae-seong) in February 1934 (*Geukyesul* 2. 1934: 52). The members of the GeukYeon, including Yu Chi-jin, Ham Dae-hun, Yi Ha-yun, Gim Gwang-seop, Seo Hang-seok and Gim Chang-gi also worked for radio drama individually as either writers or translators (ibid.: 53). The Irish dramas in which they were involved were as follows: in April 1933, one of Synge’s works was adapted and directed by Yu Chi-jin with the Korean title of *Yaksu* (meaning ‘medicinal waters’) and was broadcast by the Joseon Radio Drama Association. It is not possible to know the plot because the script is no longer available, but, judging from the Korean title, it seems to have been an adaptation of Synge’s *The Well of the Saints*. *The Well* is a three-act play, which was first performed at the Abbey Theatre by the Irish National Theatre Society in February 1905. In July 1933, Dunsany’s *The Tents of the Arabs* was translated by Yi Ha-yun and produced by Yeonhui College theatre club. Jeong In-seop directed the production. Ervine’s *The Magnanimous Lover* was adapted by Yu Chi-jin and broadcast in September 1935. There is no record of the response from listeners.

During the colonial period, radio broadcasting was used to improve Korean theatre, and the record of translated plays that were broadcast on the radio shows that Irish drama was used to serve this purpose. The fact that Irish playwrights Synge, Dunsany and Ervine, who were introduced on the Korean stage as part of the Korean theatre movement, were also broadcast as well as the involvement of the members of the GeukYeon in introducing the playwrights indicate that radio broadcasting was also a part of the modern Korean theatre movement. In other words, Irish drama was used to serve the purposes of the Korean theatre movement through a variety of media: print, stage and radio.

2.4. Translators of Irish Drama

The earlier discussion showed that the position of the Irish dramatic movement in modern Korean theatre was political rather than aesthetic. This section is concerned with the relationship between the translators of Irish drama and the field of Korean theatre. As Pierre Bourdieu observed, “Any cultural producer is situated in a certain space of production and whether he wants it or not, his productions always owe something to his position in this space” (1990: 106). Bourdieu introduces the concept ‘*habitus*’ to explain this phenomenon. The *habitus* is “a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (Thompson 1991: 12). Therefore, the relation of the Irish drama translators to modern Korean theatre can be seen to have influenced their choice of Irish plays. This section argues that an examination of their social trajectories reveals that the translators’ choice of Irish drama was made under the influence of the Irish dramatic movement as it was represented in modern Korean theatre.

At least twelve Korean translators participated in translating Irish drama for publication, stage performance or broadcasting during the colonial period. They are

as follows:

Table 3. Translators of Irish drama

Name of the translator	Title of Irish drama (the year published, staged or broadcasted in Korea)
Gim U-jin	<i>The Glittering Gate</i> (1921, 1923)
Bak Yong-cheol	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i> (1921) <i>Riders to the Sea</i> (1922)
Jo Yeong-dae	<i>Fame and the Poet</i> (1924)
Bak Seung-hui	<i>The Gods of the Mountain</i> (1924)
Choe Byeong-han	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i> (1927)
Jang Gi-je.	<i>Riders to the Sea</i> (1930) <i>The Shadow of a Gunman</i> (1931) <i>Golden Doom</i> (1931) <i>The Magnanimous Lover</i> (1932, 1935)
Bulmyeongwi	<i>Birthright</i> (1932)
Yu Chi-jin	<i>The Well of the Saints</i> (1933) <i>The Magnanimous Lover</i> (1935)
Choe Jeong-u	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i> (1931) <i>The Gaol Gate</i> (1932, 1933) <i>The Workhouse Ward</i> (1935)
An Yong-sun	<i>Fame and the Poet</i> (1934)
Yi Ha-yun	<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i> (1933, 1936)
Yim Hak-su	<i>The Only Jealousy of Emer</i> (1936) <i>The Words upon the Window Pane</i> (1939)

Gim U-jin, who was the first dramatist to translate and stage Irish drama in Korea, was born of a patriotic father, a government official. As a schoolboy, he read Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and Gabriele d'Annunzio and, at the age of seventeen, before becoming a professional dramatist, wrote an unpublished short novel called

Gongsang Munhak (Science Literature). Later, he majored in English literature at Waseda University in Japan and became interested in theatre while he was studying there: he studied and emulated as models Shakespeare, Strindberg, Ibsen, and Shaw (Yu M. 2006b: 17-41). He also organised a modern drama research group called Geukyesul Hyeophoe together with other Korean students in Japan and studied classical and modern Western drama. When Geukyesul Hyeophoe organised the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe's theatre tour in Korea, he financed and directed the theatre performances produced by the Troupe. He recommended that Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate* form part of the repertoire, a play that he himself translated into Korean and directed. Just before the theatre tour, and while still a student at Waseda University, he published an article, '*Sowi Geundaegeuk-e Daehayeo* (About the So-called Modern Drama)'. He showed his interest in the Irish literary renaissance in this article. Therefore, the Troupe's tour performance can be interpreted as one of the ways that he put his theory into practice.

He was very enthusiastic about theatre and was able to persuade Hong Hae-seong, who later became one of the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement, to abandon his studies as a law student and change his course to include theatre (Gim Yeon-su, 1931).⁷⁷ Gim's ambition was to develop a new theatre movement in Korea. He planned with Hong to establish a theatre devoted to stage plays in Gyeongseong (now Seoul), form a group with kindred spirits and start a new theatre movement in Korea after they had finished their studies in Japan (ibid.). While he was studying drama at Waseda University, he wrote an essay titled '*Aillandin-euroseoui Beonadeu Sho* (Bernard Shaw as an Irishman)' and as a graduate thesis he wrote about Shaw's play titled '*Ingan-gwa Choingan* (Man and Superman)' in 1924. After that, he wrote

⁷⁷ After the tour of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe, Hong transferred from the Department of Law at Chuo University to the Department of Arts at Nihon University.

many articles in relation to the modern Korean theatre movement: 'A Word to the Korean Literary World Where There is No Genuine Korean Language,' 'Modern European and American Playwrights,' 'The Story of *Le Théâtre Libre*,' and 'The First Step toward the Modern Korean Theatre Movement,' to name a few. His play *Yiyeongnyeo* is considered to have been created under the influence of Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (Shin J. 1999: 30).

Bak Yong-cheol (Yu M. 2006b: 112-48; Kwon Y. 2004: 361-62) was born into a wealthy farming family. In his childhood he developed a liking for theatre and film. Later, he studied at the Aoyama Institute in Japan and entered the department of German Literature at Tokyo Kaikokuo University in 1923. While he was studying in Japan, he made friends with the painter Yi Seung-man, the poet Hong Sa-yong and the critic Gim Gi-jin, all of whom, from 1923, participated in the Korean theatre movement in the Towolhoe theatre company. He also counted among his literary friends Yi Ha-yun, Yi Heon-gu, Ham Dae-hun and Gim Jin-seop, who later became the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement. Therefore, it seems that he came to be interested in theatre under the influence of his peer group. Later, he worked as a member of Haeoemunhakpa and Geukyesul Hyeophoe, translating *The Merchant of Venice* and *A Doll's House* into Korean.

Bak Seung-hui was an actor, director, playwright and translator. While he was studying English literature in Tokyo, he dipped into theatrical art and modern theatre. In 1922, in Tokyo, together with other colleagues, he organised a literary circle called the Towolhoe. The Towolhoe organised theatre performances during the summer holidays in order to subvert low-quality *sinpa*, and later became a leading permanent theatre company during the 1920s, when it was led by Bak Seung-hui. According to Sim Hun, he had an extensive vocabulary of the Korean language and was the most experienced stage director during the 1920s (Sim H. 1929).

No biographical information is known about Choe Byeong-han. However, he is known to have been a member of the Tokyo branch of K.A.P.F. (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio), the New Tsukiji Little Theatre, the Tokyo Proletarian Theatre Company, the 3.1. Theatre Company, Dongjisa, the Goryeo Theatre Company, and the Tokyo New Theatre Research Association. His social trajectories show that he was interested in proletarian theatre and that he worked in Japan. In particular, his social trajectory as a member of the New Tsukiji Little Theatre reveals his possible relation with Hong Hae-seong.⁷⁸ The New Tsukiji Little Theatre's predecessor was the Tsukiji Little Theatre, the leader of the *shingeki* (new drama) movement in Japan. The Tsukiji Little Theatre was founded in 1924 by Hijikata Yoshi, a member of a well-known aristocratic family, and Osanai Kaoru, a leading figure in the *Shingeki* movement. In 1929, following the death of Osanai Kaoru in 1928, the Theatre was divided into two companies according to their ideological directions: the Tsukiji Little Theatre and the proletarian New Tsukiji Little Theatre (Kim Jae-suk 2001: 287-88). The Tsukiji Little Theatre before the split was where Hong Hae-seong was trained as an actor. Hong was with the company from 1924 to 1929 (Seo Y. and Yi Sang-u 2000: 97-98).

Jang Gi-je is the translator who translated the greatest number of Irish plays into Korean with a total of four translations, though it would be five if O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* is included, which Jang translated but could not be staged due to the colonisers' censorship (Jeong I. 1938b: 141; Yu C. 1932c). Jang majored in English literature and was a member of GeukYeon and Haeoemunhakpa. The members of the GeukYeon and the Haeoemunhakpa, including Yu Chi-jin, Gim Gwan-seop, Yi Ha-

⁷⁸ Hong was one of the members of Geukyesul Hyeophoe, who organised the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe. He wrote articles in relation to the modern Korean theatre movement and led Geukyesul Yeonguhoe from 1931 to 1935.

yun and Jeong In-seop, were keenly interested in Irish drama and wrote many articles in relation to Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement. Jang also wrote articles about his translations of Irish drama (1932a and 1932b).

Yu Chi-jin was a leader of the modern Korean theatre movement who contributed to modern Korean theatre as a dramatist, stage director and drama critic. He organised and led the GeukYeon and wrote many articles and essays related to Irish drama and playwrights. He wrote about Lady Gregory (1932) and Sean O'Casey (1932 and 1935), to name but a few. Some of his plays such as *Tomak* and *Dangnagwi* (*The Donkey*) have been regarded as having been created under the influence of Synge and Sean O'Casey (Shin J. 1999: 30). He devoted his whole life to the theatre.

Choe Jeong-u also studied English literature at Tokyo Imperial University. After his return to Korea, he worked as a professor of English literature at Boseong College. He was also a member of the GeukYeon.

There are no records about An Yong-sun. An wrote one theatre review and two essays about Irish playwrights that reveal An's attitude toward theatre and Irish drama: '*Geukyesul Yeonguhoe je 4-hoe Gongyeon-eul Bogo* (About the Fourth Theatre Production of Geukyesul Yeonguhoe)' (1933), 'An Essay on Contemporary Irish Dramatist: Lord Dunsany' (1933), and 'A New Irish Comedy Writer: George Shiels' (1934).

Yi Ha-yun majored in English literature at Hosei University in Tokyo. While he was studying there, he joined Haeoemunhakpa and started his career as a writer. In 1927, he started the literary journal *Haeoemunhak*, an organ of Haeoemunhakpa, to translate and introduce foreign literature to the Korean public (Bak Byeong-gyu 1999: 1816). He also joined in organising the GeukYeon in 1931. He mainly translated poems, but he wrote critical essays in the fields of poetry, the novel and

drama. He wrote articles in relation to the modern Korean theatre movement: ‘*Segye Munhak-gwa Joseon-ui Beonyeok Undong* (World Literature and the Translation Movement in Korea)’ (1933), and ‘*Geukmunhak-ui Surip* (The Establishment of Dramatic Literature)’ (1939), and later, in 1956, he wrote an essay about the Irish literary renaissance.

Yim Hak-su majored in English Literature at Gyeongseong Imperial College in Seoul. He started publishing poems in the 1930s (Kwon Y. 2004: 807). Given that he wrote for *Simunhak* (Poetic Literature) magazine, the members of which worked for the GeukYeon, it seems that he was influenced by his peer group and acquired an interest in Irish drama.

There are no biographical details regarding Bulmyeongwi and Jo Yeong-dae.

Overall, these translators had very similar social trajectories that determined their literary tastes when they began to translate. Most of them had the experience of studying or residing in Japan. Considering the modern Korean theatre movement was started by and evolved around Korean students who studied in Japan, the peer group or social ambience may have provided particular contexts in which these translators acquired their taste for theatre, specifically, Irish playwrights.

Many of them were also involved in the modern Korean theatre movement directly or indirectly as a member of a theatre company or as a writer of articles on Irish playwrights or the Irish dramatic movement. Gim U-jin, Jang Gi-je, Choe Jeong-u, and Yi Ha-yun were the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement when they began to translate, and An Yong-sun indirectly participated in the theatre movement by writing theatre reviews and essays about Irish playwrights. Their involvement in the theatre movement reveals the influence of the field of modern Korean theatre on all of them.

Their membership shows the influence of the peer group on their tastes. Jang

Gi-je, Choe Jeong-u and Yi Ha-yun were all members of the Haeoemunhakpa and the GeukYeon. Among the members of these two organisations, Yu Chi-jin, Gim Gwang-seop and Jeong In-seop were very interested in Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement. They wrote many articles about Irish drama, and Jeong In-seop visited Ireland in 1936. Lastly, in the case of Bak Yong-cheol and Yim Hak-su, their literary association seems to have influenced their tastes for the theatre and Irish drama.

The translators' direct or indirect relations to modern Korean theatre show that their choice of Irish drama was influenced by their position in modern Korean theatre and by the representative image of Irish drama in Korean theatre, whether they were aware of it or not. They were inclined to use Irish drama for innovative and subversive purposes.

2.5. Conclusion

The process of the formation of the Korean cultural repertoire shows the correlations the Korean dramatic polysystem maintains with the ideological polysystem that constitutes Korean culture and with the polysystem that belongs to another community, the Irish dramatic polysystem. It also reveals the active role of Korean intellectuals.

First of all, the reason why Korean intellectuals looked at Irish drama when a system of Korean culture was being established was mainly ideological as shown in the representation of the Irish dramatic movement in Korean theatre. Manipulation was made in representing the Irish dramatic movement to meet their needs and the selections of Irish drama in Korean theatre were correlated with this representation.

Translation strategies adopted in Irish drama translations show the correlations the young Korean dramatic polysystem maintains with the Irish dramatic polysystem

as well as with the Korean ideological polysystem: the strategies reflect the need to meet both adequacy and acceptability norms so that the translations may work in a subversive as well as innovative way.

In making these cultural repertoires, Korean intellectuals actively participated in making the need of Irish drama as a cultural repertoire and forming the field of Irish drama translations as translators or authors of the articles on Irish drama. The choice of the Irish works in the Korean theatre was a Korean nationalist strategy.

Chapter 3. The Reception and Position of Sean O'Casey's Works in Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism

Although, together with Yeats and Synge, O'Casey was one of the most important and influential playwrights in the Irish dramatic movement, the list of translated Irish drama published and staged in Korean theatre during the 1920s and 1930s does not seem to reflect the position of O'Casey properly. Only one of his plays was translated and then published and none of his plays was staged in Korea under colonialism.

In Yeats's case, his peripheral position in the list of translated drama may be explained in relation to his dramatic ideals, which were not in accordance with the dramatic ideals that modern Korean theatre pursued. His dramatic ideals can be said to have been closely related to the major goals of the Irish Literary Theatre, which was formed in 1899 by Yeats, Lady Gregory, George Moore, and Edward Martyn as the first step toward establishing a native Irish drama, "to bring upon the stage the deeper thoughts and emotions of Ireland ... to show that Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and of easy sentiment ... but the home of an ancient idealism ... [and to place literature] outside all the political questions that divide us" (Gregory 1991d: 378). As Kilroy pointed out, the drama of the early Yeats depended upon the integrity and the survival of a peasant culture with folk roots stretching deep into a heroic past and it was conceived as "an art consciously set apart from the social drama of modern urban middle-class society, the 'problem' plays of Ibsen" (1975: 2). As Brockett and Findlay observed:

Yeats disliked Ibsenian and Shavian plays, for he did not consider the ordinary man a fit subject for drama. He ignored details of daily life and

sought through ritualistic actions to arouse a sense of community among spectators and enlarge their capacities for exalted experience – to make of them “temporary aristocrats” through the power of great emotions. (1973: 162)

Yeats was interested in “presenting a remote past through which he sought to suggest ideals for the present,” rather than presenting contemporary situations (ibid.: 165).⁷⁹

Therefore, it can be said that the drama of Yeats did not directly meet the goals of Korean theatre under colonialism, which were to establish a modern national theatre and recover a national independence by presenting the realities of colonial situations on the stage. Furthermore, the poetic language that Yeats used in his plays seemed to be a difficult obstacle for Korean translators and theatre practitioners to overcome to make the plays understood by Korean readers and audiences. Yeats “favored traditional verse forms so as to avoid over-personal expression” and his plays were “written in blank verse for the most part” (ibid.: 162-67).

However, the dramatic ideals Sean O’Casey pursued were different from those of Yeats. Unlike Yeats, he was interested in the present, not the past. He tried to improve Irish society and offer a vision by making a severe criticism of Irish society, namely, by presenting contemporary social issues on the stage in an Ibsenian realistic style. As Kilroy pointed out, O’Casey’s plays “arose from contemporary dynamic forces within Irish society, from a need to engage in the process of history” (1975: 2). His plays were “at least ostensibly, involved with social and political ideas, with how

⁷⁹ Although he was one of the most important playwrights during the early years of the Abbey Theatre, Yeats was not the most successful playwright at the Abbey Theatre because his plays dealt with a world not familiar to Irish audiences. Accordingly, Lady Gregory was more successful because she dealt with a world familiar to Irish audiences (Brockett and Findlay 1973: 165).

people live together, how individual fate is defined by position within the group, the class, the system” (ibid.: 2). Comparing the dispositions of J. M. Synge and O’Casey, A. E. Malone said that O’Casey was a photographic artist who retouched his films with an acid pencil to produce an effect of grotesque satire, while Synge was a poet, with all the attributes of a poet (1970: 68).

O’Casey was a realist dramatist. Among the Irish playwrights who were introduced into Korea, his dramatic ideals can be said to be closest to those of the modern Korean theatre movement. The movement aimed at social change by portraying or depicting the realities of the Korean people under colonialism. Its goal was to provide a true representation of daily themes rather than to pursue arts or beauty. Therefore, it would be reasonable to presume that O’Casey’s plays would have been those most frequently translated in Korean theatre under colonialism. Given that, as Venuti maintained, ideological manipulation occurs from “the very choice of a foreign text to translate” (1998: 67), O’Casey should have been the most popular playwright in modern Korean theatre. However, his plays were the least represented in the list of translated Irish drama, as mentioned earlier. If it is not that he was the least represented because he was the least important, what was his real position in modern Korean theatre and what caused such a minor representation? This chapter is concerned with this matter.

The purpose of this chapter is to prove that Sean O’Casey was not a minor playwright in modern Korean theatre and to demonstrate that the Irish drama translations were the result of the encounter of Korean nationalism with the colonisers’ censorship. For this purpose, it will first look at the reception and representation of Casey’s works in Korean theatre by analysing critical essays and articles published in relation to Irish drama during the 1920s and 1930s; then, it will examine the censorship of O’Casey’s works in colonial Korea. It will be argued that

O'Casey was received as one of the most important playwrights in modern Korean theatre and at least his Dublin trilogy could have been staged in Korea without the colonisers' censorship. Lastly, this chapter will analyse the only translation of his play, *The Shadow of a Gunman*. Bassnett and Trivedi point out, "the strategies employed by translators reflect the context in which texts are produced" (1999: 6). In Even-Zohar's terms, specific norms or behaviours adopted in translations reveal their relations with the other home co-systems (2004: 199). The translation strategies of *The Shadow* will be investigated with regard to the translational norms in modern Korean theatre at that time to find out how the translation strategies are related to Korean literary and ideologocial polysystems. Through this analysis, it will be argued that the translation strategies adopted in *The Shadow* were the result of the need to meet the innovative and national awakening roles that translated drama had to take at that time; therefore, *The Shadow* was received as one of several major plays to serve the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement.

3.1. Representation of Sean O'Casey in Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism

In modern Korean theatre during the 1920s and 1930s, Irish playwrights and dramas had been introduced in the form of translations, stage performances and as the subject of critical essays. Among these, stage performances had been a primary focus of censorship because of their direct contact with the masses, while critical essays had suffered relatively less censorship because they were not seen as a public threat. Therefore, it can be said that critical essays revealed most accurately the position that Irish playwrights and dramas occupied in Korean theatre under colonial rule. Although O'Casey was positioned on the periphery in the list of translated Irish drama during the 1920s and 1930s, the briefest glance at the number of critical

essays about him and his plays seems to reveal the opposite. During this period, three critical essays were published in relation to him and his plays: '*Aeran-ui Singeuk Jakga Sean O'Casey* (Sean O'Casey, an Emerging Irish Playwright, and his Plays)' by Gim Yong-su in 1931,⁸⁰ '*Nodongja Chulsin-ui Geukjakga Sean O'Casey* (Sean O'Casey, A Playwright from the Working Class)' by Yu Chi-jin in 1932, and '*Naega Sasukhaneun Naeoe Jakga: Sean O'Casey-wa Na* (Sean O'Casey and I: The Playwright Who Guided My Way)' by Yu Chi-jin in 1935. In fact, in the list of critical essays dedicated to Irish playwrights and their plays, Synge and O'Casey were the most popular playwrights.⁸¹ Three essays were published about each playwright, while the number of essays dedicated to Gregory and Dunsany, who were the most popular dramatists on the list of translated Irish drama, were two and one respectively.⁸² Furthermore, while critical essays about Synge were written by literary figures outside the Korean dramatic circle, two essays about O'Casey were written by a dramatic figure, Yu Chi-jin, as mentioned above. This fact can be interpreted as demonstrating that O'Casey was the focus of more attention than Synge was in the Korean dramatic circle because Yu was in a position to influence

⁸⁰ There is no personal background information available about Gim Yong-su. This essay was his only publication about the theatre (Jang W. 2000: 134). However, it seems that s/he was not a figure in the dramatic circle since Yu Chi-jin did not know him/her. In his essay about Sean O'Casey published in 1932, Yu said, "This is not the first time that Irish playwright Sean O'Casey from the working-class is introduced. As far as I can remember, his plays were introduced in this newspaper [*Chosun Ilbo*] two years ago by an author whose name I can't remember" (1932c, my translation). Yu would have known the author if s/he had belonged to the dramatic circle.

⁸¹ Critical essays about Synge and his plays are: '*John Millington Synge-ui Geuk Yeongu* (A Study on John Millington Synge's Drama)' (1930) by Yi Hyo-seok, '*Aeran Hyangto Jakga John Millington Synge* (John Millington Synge- An Irish Folk Dramatist)' (1932) by Jang Hyeon-jik and '*J.M. Syngejak: 'Seobu-ui Chonga' Yeongu* (A Study on *The Playboy of the Western World*)' (1933) by Bak No-gap.

⁸² Critical essays about Lady A. Gregory are '*Segye Yeoryu Geukjangin Sulrye: Aeran-ui Eomeoni Gregory Buin* (An Introduction of Female Figures in the World Theatre; Lady Gregory, Mother of Ireland)' (1932) by Yu Chi-jin and '*Gregory Buin-gwa Aeran-ui Yeongeuk Undong* (Lady Gregory and the Modern Irish Theatre Movement)' (1934) by Jo Won-gyeong and one critical essay about Dunsany is '*Aeran Hyeondae Geukjakga Dunsanyron* (An Essay on Contemporary Irish Dramatist: Lord Dunsany)' (1933) by An Yong-sun.

modern Korean theatre. As an intellectual, a realist and a nationalist dramatist, a stage director of the GeukYeon, and a leader of the modern Korean theatre movement, Yu was a central figure in modern Korean theatre during the 1930s and his plays provided a model for newly emerging Korean dramatists to follow. This “symbolic capital”⁸³ was sufficient to grant him cultural authority to mould a broad consensus about an image of O’Casey, and the representation of O’Casey by him must have provided a dominant image of O’Casey, which was accepted by the Korean theatre circle and Korean readers who had no contact with Irish culture.

This section is concerned with the image and representation of O’Casey portrayed in Yu’s and other critical essays related to Irish drama and playwrights, published in modern Korean theatre during the 1920s and 1930s. Given the position of Yu in modern Korean theatre, his essays will be the main focus of the following discussion.

The image and representation of O’Casey in Korean theatre also reveals the ideological purpose of modern Korean theatre under colonialism, which were very similar to those of the Irish dramatic movement, as discussed in section 2.2. First of all, just as Korean intellectuals considered the Irish people a victim of colonialism, this perspective was also reflected in the understanding of O’Casey’s background. O’Casey’s poverty resulting from colonial rule was greatly accentuated (Yu C. 1932c and 1935b; Sin S. 1929). In the essay ‘A Playwright from the Working Class’ (1932), Yu Chi-jin revealed his sensitivity to the colonial history of Ireland in dealing with O’Casey’s background. Yu attributed O’Casey’s miserable environment, his eye disease and his retarded schooling to the policies of the colonisers. According to Yu, in his plays, O’Casey dealt with people from the slums of a city suffering under

⁸³ This is a concept introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, which refers to prestige, social honour, reputation or recognition (Bourdieu 1991: 229-31).

colonial power and he himself belonged to the slum people. Yu emphasised that O'Casey belonged to the working class, who had "to work ceaselessly like a slave"; colonial policies produced slum people who suffered from economic unrest and this poverty resulted in O'Casey's eye disease and retarded education (1932c and 1935b).

This point of view was different from that of O'Casey's other critics. Critics such as Welch or Ayling attributed O'Casey's retarded education also to his eye disease:

lack of money and a painful eye disease shortened his schooling. (Welch 1996: 407)

O'Casey's education was retarded by a disease which seriously afflicted his eyes throughout his life; he had little schooling, and it was not until his early teens that he undertook his education seriously. (Ayling 2002: 560)

It was true that O'Casey was born into a poor family and raised in poverty. Eight of his brothers and sisters among thirteen children died in infancy mostly of the croup, a type of diphtheria prevalent in the poorer families at that time. When he was six years old, his father died and his family was gradually reduced to the poverty and hardship of tenement life. He lived in the squalor of the tenements. Infectious disease and malnutrition were prevalent in Dublin slums at that time, causing a high infant mortality-rate.⁸⁴ O'Casey had contracted a chronic eye disease that plunged him into a world of pain and semi-darkness (Krause 1975: 2-3). Later, O'Casey wandered from job to job having experienced long periods of unemployment by the

⁸⁴ Early in 1880, the year of O'Casey's birth, the death-rate in Dublin was 44.8 in every 1000 of the population, in comparison with 27.1 in London (Krause 1975: 4).

time he was thirty. As Krause points out, these tragic years were in large measure a part of the tragedy of Irish history, because Ireland at the turn of the century was an impoverished agrarian country, reduced to economic and political impotence: The impoverishment resulted not only from “seven hundred years of British misrule,” but also from “the accident of geography which gave her a rough island climate of heavy mists and rains” (ibid.: 3).

Nonetheless, Yu and Korean critics interpreted the impoverishment totally as the result of colonial policies. It can be said that their experience of Japanese colonial rule in Korea was reflected in their understanding of O’Casey’s life. They wanted to represent the poverty as entirely due to colonialism. The land survey by the Japanese colonial government and rice importation into Japan meant Korean peasants became slash-and-burn farmers or beggars, or they had to emigrate to Manchuria, the Maritime Province, or to Japan. Yu Chi-jin portrayed this rural people in his plays.

Yu highlighted O’Casey’s patriotism when he described O’Casey’s motive in turning his interests to education. Yu described that he was once asked about the history of his country and his ignorance of his country shamed him into self-education (1935b). However, according to David Krause, author of O’Casey’s biography, O’Casey’s decision to start self-education stemmed from his dramatic ardour. As a boy of ten years old, O’Casey had discovered the new world of drama in the plays of Shakespeare and Dion Boucicault. He knew the works of those playwrights only from the lines he had picked up and memorised as an actor, as he was not yet able to read because of his weak eyes. Thus, by the time he was fourteen, he had begun an ambitious programme of self-education in order to learn to read and

write (Krause 1975: 18-20).⁸⁵ Furthermore, it seems that he began to identify himself with 'Irish' Ireland in his twenties when he learned the Irish language: "He was christened John and his surname was Casey, but in his twenties when he learned the Irish language and turned his interests to the cause of Irish freedom he gaelicized his name to Sean O'Cathasaigh, later anglicizing the surname to O'Casey when the Abbey Theatre accepted his first play" (Krause 1975: 1).

Yu went on to draw attention to the fact that O'Casey became well versed in the Irish Gaelic language that even such a great man of letters as Yeats did not understand. He added that the Irish people had forgotten their language under the British Empire's rule of six to seven hundred years (1935b).⁸⁶ Actually, O'Casey could speak, read and write it fluently, and later joined the Gaelic League and taught the language in the evenings at one of the League schools in the slums (Krause 1975: 21-22).⁸⁷

Another image of O'Casey represented in modern Korea theatre was as an independence and a labour activist. In his essay on Irish theatre published in 1929, Sin Seok-yeon, a literary critic, wrote:

⁸⁵ According to Gregory's journals, O'Casey said "I was sixteen before I learned to read or write" (Gregory 1975: 17).

⁸⁶ As I pointed out in earlier chapter, Korean intellectuals thought British colonial rule over Ireland started in 1171, when an English royal presence was established in Ireland. This view is shared by Krause (Krause 1975: 3).

⁸⁷ At the same time that O'Casey was learning the Gaelic language and beginning to identify himself with 'Irish' Ireland, the turn of the century had already witnessed a renaissance of Irish culture. However, it was mainly middle and upper class or intellectual Dublin that had become the revitalised centre of the awakened national culture. Although O'Casey taught the Gaelic language as a member of the Gaelic League, this was the only extent to which he was a part of the great Gaelic Revival. His roots were in the working class and his path was essentially that of labour. The Gaelic Revival had given Yeats the impetus to create the Irish Literary Theatre, which in 1904 came to be known as the Abbey Theatre, but at this time O'Casey was still twenty years away from his first association with it (Krause 1975: 21-22).

一九一三年의 더블린 스트라이크에 參加하며 革命時에는
 콘노리의 市民軍에 屬하였으나 當時 入院하였던 그가 英軍에게
 逮捕를 當하야 ... 銃殺을 當하려는 瞬間에 革命軍의
 一齊射擊으로 救援을 받았고 (1929)

He took part in the Lock-Out Strike in 1913 and was a member of
 Connolly's Citizen Army when the revolution [the Easter Rising] broke
 out. However, he was in hospital at that time. He was arrested by the
 British army and rescued in a volley by the Irish revolution army just
 before he was shot to death.

Yu Chi-jin emphasised O'Casey's activities as a labour and independence
 activist in more detail. Yu described how O'Casey joined the trade union formed by
 syndicalists such as James Larkin, took part in the Dublin Lock-Out Strike of 1913
 and joined the Citizen Army, and he explained how O'Casey had a narrow escape
 from being killed:

一九一六年 復活祭 xx⁸⁸에서 市民軍은 제스 코우놀리의 指揮
 아래 더블린에서 市街戰을 쳤다. ... 그러나 그는 이 急報를 듣고
 누워있을 수는 없었다. ... X⁸⁹隊는 그를 壁에다 세웠다. 그리고
 銃을 겨누었다. ... 바로 그때! 난데없이 xx軍의 一齊射擊이
 猛火같이 쏟아졌다. 그 덕으로 오케이시는 生命을 救하였다.
 (1932c)

The Citizen Army became involved in street fighting under James

⁸⁸ This part was censored by the Japanese colonial government.

⁸⁹ This part was also censored by the Japanese colonial government.

Connolly in Dublin during the Easter xx [Rising] in 1916. ... However, he could not remain in his hospital bed at the news of the fighting. ... The X [British] army forced him to stand against the wall and pointed a gun. ... At that moment, xx [revolutionary] army suddenly fired a volley and he had a narrow escape.

Yu went on to say that O'Casey was soon arrested again by the British army and imprisoned in a flour mill this time; *The Story of the Irish Citizen Army* was the record of this experience. Because of this background, Yu called O'Casey a playwright of "deprivation and resistance" (1993c: 120).

It is well known that O'Casey involved himself in various political activities, joining the IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood), the Orange Order, James Larkin's Irish Transport and General Worker's Union, becoming Secretary of its political wing, and the Irish Citizen Army (Welch 1996: 407). He also took part in the Lock-Out Strike of 1913. Although he was still to write his plays in defence of Liberty, he played his part by becoming an active member of Larkin's union and serving as one of the Chief's assistants during the 1913 strike (Krause 1975: 8). It is true that he wrote *The Story of the Irish Citizen Army* (1919);⁹⁰ however, it cannot be said that he sympathised with the 1916 Easter Rising as a member of the Citizen Army. Even before the Rising, he left "the Citizen Army in 1914 when James Connolly moved it closer to the revolutionary position of Patrick Pearse and when it refused to support the Allied position in the First World War" (Welch 1996: 407).

⁹⁰ He wrote, in 1919, this seventy-two page short history of the Citizen Army as 'P. Ó Cathasaigh' [the 'p' was a misprint], a name he used from 1907 onwards in contributing essays, songs, and poems to papers like *The Irish Worker*. This was a first-hand account of the organisation and activities of the Citizen Army during the 1913-14 strike and lock-out, and it also covered the events leading up to and including the 1916 Rising (Welch 1996: 407; Krause 1975: 31).

During the Rising, he was “a critical spectator. ... Although he continued to support national independence, the cause of international socialism and the need to improve Irish working conditions became his primary concerns” (Ayling 2002: 560). He “spent most of his life as a staunch communist and unwavering supporter of the Soviet Union” (McDonald 2004: 138). As Ronan McDonald pointed out, O’Casey may have left his beloved Irish Citizen Army because of its lurch towards nationalism (2004: 138): “O’Casey’s loyalties belonged to labour’s Plough and the Stars, the flag with the seven stars of the symbolic heavenly Plough on the background of bright St Patrick’s blue, ... not the orange, green and white Tri-Colour of the nationalists” (Krause 1975: 31).

Although it is true that O’Casey had been very nearly shot in the Rising, the situation was different from the above descriptions by Korean authors: “He had taken no part in it [the Rising], but a shot had been fired from some house he was in or near, and the soldiers had dragged him out and were actually raising their rifles to fire at him” (Gregory 1975: 21).

O’Casey described the moment as follows:

I felt in a daze, just from instinct I said a prayer, was certain death was there. But someone fired a shot that just missed their captain, and they ran to see where it came from, and I ran for my life through the fields and escaped. (ibid.: 21)

It is impossible to know with any certainty whether Sin and Yu’s distortion and exaggeration of the facts about O’Casey’s career as an independence activist were due to their specific intention or their misunderstanding. However, this distortion can be interpreted in the light of the representation of the Irish dramatic movement in

modern Korean theatre: the political rather than the literary aspects of the movement were highlighted. In this respect, O'Casey's patriotic aspects might have been treated as the most important in modern Korean theatre: they needed to represent O'Casey as a patriotic and nationalistic playwright who could be a model in Korean theatre.

O'Casey was also described by Yu as being motivated to study drama by his nationalistic impulse. It seems that this point shows how Yu translated O'Casey into a model for Korean drama:

그가 處女作을 發表하기 十年前 하루의 일이다. ... 아베이劇場의 存在를 알고 하룻저녁 구경을 갔었다. 그때 비로소 오케이시는 아베이劇場이란 것이 愛蘭의 國民劇 樹立을 위해서 努力하고 있는 唯一의 文化機關인 줄을 안 것이다. 그 후로 오케이시는 演劇의 意義를 알고 演劇工夫에 뜻하게 된 것이다. 그는 每夜 한 번도 빠지는 법 없이 아베이劇場의 三等席券을 샀다. 실로 오케이시의 劇作術에 대한 實際는 이 三等席에서 배운 것이다. (1935b)

Ten years before he wrote his first play, O'Casey ...came to know the existence of the Abbey Theatre and went to the play. Only then did he realise that the Theatre was the only organ that strove to establish an Irish national theatre. After that, he knew the meaning of drama and began to study drama. He never missed any performance. He learned his dramatic techniques from the third class seat at the Theatre.

According to Krause, O'Casey discovered drama at the age of ten, acted, helped organise the Townsend Dramatic Group, and was fascinated by the plays of Shakespeare and Dion Boucicault (1975: 18-21). So his study of drama can be said

to have begun much earlier than Yu described. Moreover, although he started his career as a dramatist at the Abbey Theatre, it was not the writers of the Abbey Theatre, but Shakespeare and Dion Boucicault, who really gave him his sense of structure and of style. As Roger McHugh observed, O'Casey gained "his sense of the drama's being larger than life, of the necessity for bold action and brave speech" through his reading of and acting in Shakespeare, and he learned "structure of his early plays, the sudden turn from pathos or tragedy to comedy or to farce" from Dion Boucicault (1975: 36).

Furthermore, it was only after the production of *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923) and *Juno and the Paycock* (1924) that O'Casey frequented the Abbey. In a letter to David Krause, O'Casey said:

I never had the money to spare to go to the Abbey. I went twice before I wrote plays – once paying for myself in the shilling place; and once thro' the kindness of a friend to see Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*. (Krause 1975: 36)

According to Krause's record, although the production of *The Shadow of a Gunman* was so successful that the final night was a complete sell-out and the "House Full" sign was hung out - the first time this had happened in the history of the Abbey - O'Casey's reward came to only four pounds (ibid.: 37). Krause went on to say that even during the run of his next play, *Juno and the Paycock*, which drew such large crowds that it had to be extended for a second week, the first time in Abbey history that a play had run longer than a week, O'Casey was still working as a labourer and he was none too solvent. When the two-week run ended, however, he received the grand sum of twenty-five pounds and, at the age of forty-four, decided

to live by his pen alone (ibid.: 37).

The emphasis of the influence of the Abbey Theatre on O'Casey in Korean theatre seems to be related to the nationalistic representation of the Irish dramatic movement and the Abbey Theatre as the centre of the movement. By emphasising the relationship to the Abbey Theatre, Yu Chi-jin probably intended to stress O'Casey's nationalistic aspects. Likewise, in Korean theatre, O'Casey was portrayed as a major dramatist, one of the most important and brilliant playwrights of the Abbey Theatre (Sin S. 1929; Gim Jong. 1930; Gim Yong-su 1931; Yu C. 1933). He was also portrayed as a dramatist who saved the Irish dramatic movement:

愛蘭이 일찌기 낳은 唯一한 劇詩人 싱그가 죽은 이후 愛蘭의 新劇運動은 沈滯되기 시작했다. ... 愛蘭 新劇의 아버지로서 尊敬받는 W.B.예이츠는 그때를 회想하여 오케이시에게 이런 便紙를 썼다. “...만일 그 때 貴下의 新作(편의대의 그림자를 말함)을 얻지 못했더라면 우리(아베이극장)는 解體되었을지 모릅니다.”라고. ... 실로 愛蘭의 劇運動을 구한 사람은 오케이시였던 것이다. (Yu C. 1935b)

After the death of Synge, the only Irish poetic dramatist, the Irish dramatic movement began to decline. ... Recollecting that time, W. B. Yeats, a father of the Irish new drama, wrote a letter to O'Casey, saying: “Without your new play (*The Shadow of a Gunman*), we [the Abbey Theatre] might have been dissolved.” ... It was O'Casey that saved the Irish dramatic movement.

Given the representation of the Irish dramatic movement in modern Korean theatre, such a contribution to the Irish dramatic movement itself was enough to

make O'Casey deserve the position of the most important playwright in Korean theatre.

It is true that the Abbey Theatre was undergoing a serious crisis in both its finances and in its dramatic ideals when O'Casey first submitted his play to the Abbey Theatre, around 1919. With the death of Synge, the original idea of the Irish dramatic movement founded by Lady Gregory, Synge, and Yeats - the drama as an art consciously set apart from the social drama of modern urban middle-class society – had been exhausted; Yeats seemed to be interested in “a private drama that has a striking relevance to the modern drama of ritual and its use of an autonomous stage-space” (Kilroy 1975: 2). Lady Gregory was still writing plays, but she had evidently passed her zenith, and Padraic Colum, who lived in America for many years, seemed to have become part of the literary life of that country (Malone 1929: 121). During this troubled period, from 1916 to 1923, the tendency of the Abbey Theatre was quite definitely moving towards melodrama and farce; neither the plays nor the acting were of the quality usually associated with the name of the Abbey Theatre and the theatre was in serious financial difficulties (ibid.: 121-22).

The emergence of Sean O'Casey, however, brought a financial and dramatic resuscitation to the Abbey Theatre. His plays drew such large crowds that, as mentioned previously, for the first time in the history of the Abbey, for one play the “House Full” sign was hung out and another ran for longer than a week. With this commercial success, O'Casey's emergence also brought about a dramatic revolution. Regarding the revolution O'Casey brought to the Abbey, Kilroy described how, unlike Synge, Yeats, and Lady Gregory, O'Casey's plays are urban, anti-heroic and concerned with social and political ideas, arising from a need to engage in the process of history. He went on to say:

This in itself is important inasmuch as Irish drama is notoriously shy of ideas in action, and is even less concerned with the idea as socially and politically circumscribed. ... The one characteristic, however, that most of all sets O'Casey apart from Irish drama is his restless experimentation with dramatic form. (1975: 2)

It can be said that he carried on and completed the revolution in the theatre that his countryman Synge had begun twenty years before O'Casey began to write his plays. As Krause pointed out, "It was of course Yeats and Lady Gregory who established and guided the Abbey Theatre, but it was Synge and O'Casey who shaped it to their own genius, and it is their plays which represent the highest achievements of the Irish Dramatic Renaissance" (1975: 65). Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* and O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*, for example, constitute such an achievement.

The reason O'Casey was treated as one of the most important playwrights of the Abbey writers in Korean theatre was that his plays, especially his Dublin trilogy, dealt with contemporary political events, such as the Irish independence wars or revolutionary wars and the sufferings of slum people under the political turmoil (Gim Gwang-seop 1935b; Sin S. 1929; Jang G. 1932b; Yu C. 1932c). According to Sin Seok-yeon (1929), unlike preceding plays, O'Casey's plays showed the desire for revolution and drama from the inside of Irish life by dealing with contemporary national and political issues, thereby making the Abbey Theatre an important part of the world proletarian movement. Especially, it was emphasised that O'Casey's Dublin trilogy treated slum people who suffered politically and economically as the lower classes and the production of these sufferings on the stage brought to the Irish audience a new sense of the spirit and significance of their life (Jang G. 1932b; Yu C.

1932c).

Korean critics considered O'Casey the first dramatist to stage contemporary urban working class life. Gim Yong-su introduced O'Casey as such and Yu Chi-jin also wrote a description to that effect:

그는 貧民窟을 舞臺化한 愛蘭最初の 作家는 아니다. 그 前에도 AP氏의 『泥寧 Slough』 및 알파 오메가라 稱하는 이의 『주위 Blight』의 二作이 있었다. 그러나 이 作品들은 何等의 注目도 주지 못하고 忘却되어 버렸다. 그럼으로 싱그 以來의 아베이座의 傳統이든 土民劇을 破棄한 것은 오케이시의 손에 의한 것이라고 볼 수 있다. (Yu C. 1932c)

He is not the first Irish dramatist who staged the slums. Before him, there were *The Slough* by A.P. Wilson and *Blight* by one who named himself 'Alpha and Omega'. However, these plays were buried in oblivion without attracting any attention. Therefore, it can be said that it was O'Casey who broke away from rural drama, which had been the tradition of the Abbey Theatre since Synge.

It is true that, before O'Casey, there were plays that portrayed the hardy vivacious race that inhabited [the slums of Dublin] in a play: Malone identifies these as *The Slough*, by A. P. Wilson, and a blistering social satire by one who named himself 'Alpha and Omega' called *Blight* (1970: 69). There was also *The Labour Leader* by the Cork novelist and dramatist Daniel Corkery, which incidentally perhaps, used the same material (ibid.: 69). However, as Malone observed, O'Casey's was thought to be the best:

Where O'Casey scores over those dramatists is in the use he makes of the period of war and bloodshed through which Dublin has so recently passed, and with which his audiences are all familiar. (ibid.: 69)

Korean critics also seemed to have this fact in mind when they introduced O'Casey as the first dramatist of the slums. To Korean critics, the portrayal of the present that was familiar to the audience – the “period of war and bloodshed through which Dublin has so recently passed” – was considered important. Furthermore, a major focus of Korean critics' interest was on political issues rather than on the problems of urban working class life. These problems of the working class had significance for Korean critics as far as those problems were related to political issues, such as an independence war or colonial policies. In this sense, O'Casey in modern Korean theatre was the first dramatist to stage contemporary urban working class life. The reason Korean critics valued and stressed the fact that O'Casey treated contemporary political issues and the slum life of Dublin was related to the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement, which was to stimulate the national willpower and a national awakening by staging the realities of the Korean people under colonialism, a miserable tragedy of “no freedom, no money and no life” (Gim Jeong-jin 1923a: 19), as discussed in section 1.3.3. In this respect, O'Casey's slum plays might have had a resonance in modern Korean theatre.

Of course, as Anthony Butler observed, “O'Casey's pseudo-slums do not fester; they do not smell - they are genteel; they are middle-class concepts of what such places might be” (1966: 23). However, the Korean critics' understanding of Dublin slums went beyond this. One example is Yu Chi-jin's interpretation of the scene in which Jack Boyle pretends to have pains in his legs in *Juno and the Paycock*. Yu (1932c) considered Boyle's reluctance to work the product of the current Irish

system, the instinctive reaction that could be seen in the working class labourers who lived in the specific circumstances of Ireland. As Yu's interpretation suggested, working conditions in Ireland at the turn of the century were terrible:

In the 'Unskilled labour class' there were 45,159 people, or about one-seventh of the population. The average wage for men was 14 shillings for a week of 70 hours; and women worked in some cases as many as 90 hours for anywhere between 5 and 10 shillings a week. Steady employment in the city was to be found in prostitution, a thriving and wide-open tourist industry that was in evidence on most of the main streets. (Krause 1975: 6-7)

These miserable conditions of the unskilled labour class can be found in O'Casey's work. In *The Plough and the Stars*, the consumptive child of Mrs. Gogan, a charwoman, dies of consumption, never getting any care because of poverty. After the child died, The Covey said, "Sure she never got any care. How could she get it, an' th' mother out day an' night lookin' for work" (O'Casey 1957: 241).

It seemed that Korean critics were well aware of the working conditions in Ireland probably through their personal researches as well as through Irish plays: most of them studied in Japan where they could have higher education than in colonial Korea. They must have gotten the information about Ireland in Japan. In their essays, many Korean critics described the miserable conditions of Ireland under colonial rule in more detail than the Irish playwrights had depicted in their plays that had been imported into Korea at that time. The critics ascribed these conditions to colonialism. In this context, O'Casey's Dublin trilogy, which dealt with the Dublin slums, was one of the most valued Irish plays in and for Korean theatre.

It is true that the trilogy exposed the realities of the Dublin slums under colonialism, but what O'Casey tried to achieve through his trilogy was pacifism. He repudiated "war and the illusion that the soldiers alone are the chief sufferers, the illusion that the soldiers die bravely and beautifully for their country" (Krause 1975: 70). The people who are left behind are also the chief sufferers of war: Nora in *The Plough and the Stars*, goes insane after her husband goes to the war and Mrs. Tancred and Mrs. Boyle in *Juno and the Paycock* have to suffer more excruciating pains carrying their children out of the world to bring them to their grave than they suffered bringing them into the world to carry them to their cradle. And Jack Clitheroe, Nora's husband, in *The Plough and the Stars* goes to the war because of his vanity: he gives up the Citizen Army because he gets the sulks when he is not made a Captain and goes to war only when he is appointed Commandant.

As McDonald points out, O'Casey tried to reveal the dangers of political idealism through a demonstration of the terrible destruction these ideals cause to the hearth-and-home humanity, represented by the women (2004: 137). The political idealism destroyed the home and the sweet dream of Nora in *The Plough and the Stars*.

Therefore, he "consistently viewed the national character with irony instead of idealism" (Krause 1975: 61), just as, in *The Shadow of a Gunman*, Shields describes Irish people as "treating a joke as a serious thing and a serious thing as a joke" and never being fit for self-government (O'Casey 1985: 7). O'Casey's trilogy is full of "the hostility to nationalist rhetoric" (McDonald 2004: 138), and reveals his critical attitude towards Irish nationalism and the glorification of freedom-fighters (Welch 1996: 407). His trilogy focuses on the civilians that suffer as a result of Irish nationalism rather than "glorification of freedom-fighters".

Although these elements in his plays angered the Irish conservative

nationalists,⁹¹ it seems that O’Casey’s goal was achieved among the Irish audience, and the public grasped O’Casey’s message. Regarding the success of *The Shadow of a Gunman*, Dorsey said it “was a popular success although it was presented in 1923 while the Civil War was at its height. Perhaps its success was due to popular disillusionment with the gunmen” (1967: 148).

In contrast, O’Casey’s plays were received as a means to stimulate resistance against the colonisers in Korean theatre. Korean critics approached his plays from the perspective of nationalistic ideology. One example of this can be found in Sin Seok-yeon’s critical essay. Sin introduced *The Plough and the Stars*, which dealt with the 1916 Easter Rising and the Irish independence movement, as being representative of O’Casey’s plays, and presented the plot of the play, focusing on a revolutionary’s speech:

“愛蘭의 손에 武器를 뱀은 榮光이다” .. 犧牲 ... 流血 그보다도 더 무서운 것은 “奴隸” 그것이다. “... 至今까지 神에게 이같이 莊嚴한 禮拜를 받든 일이 있었는가. 몇 百萬 生命의 服從이 歡喜 사이에 「祖國의 사랑」을 爲하여 바친 일이 ... 우리는 이 光榮 있는 犧牲에 何時든지 燂은 술을 부을 準備를 하지 않으면 안된다.” (1929)

“It is a glorious thing to see arms in the hands of Irishman.” ... Slavery is

⁹¹ There were riots in the Abbey Theatre when *The Plough and the Stars* was produced in 1926. It was “greeted with shouts of blasphemy and obscenity, flying objects and fists, and finally the arrival of the police in the Abbey Theatre” (Krause 1975: 37). Even *Juno and the Paycock* was received with some grumbling in Dublin. When the Abbey players put the play on at Cork, “the manager of the Cork theatre had refused to allow the play to be performed except in a badly bowdlerized version, with all references to religion eliminated and all reference to sex cleaned up. Even the beautiful and poignant prayer spoken by Mrs. Tancred and Juno Boyle, one of the most important speeches in the play, was cut out; and to avoid the undesirable fact that an Irish girl had been seduced, albeit by an Englishman, some dialogue was added to indicate that Bentham had married Mary Boyle before he deserted her” (ibid.: 38-39).

more horrible than sacrifice or bloodshed. "... Such august homage was never offered to God as this: the homage of millions of lives given gladly for love of country. ... we must be ready to pour out the red alcohol anytime in the same glorious sacrifice."

The author's intention in introducing this inflammatory speech is clear: he wanted to use his writing as a means to rouse the Korean people to action. Sin also changed the plot by introducing Nora being shot and killed by the British army. In the original play, Nora becomes mad and Bessie, trying to protect the mad Nora, is shot and killed. This play was originally written not to make propaganda for the independence war, but to expose the poverty and ignorance of the Irish people and their suffering. O'Casey tried to show worthlessness of the Rising through this play. By depicting and focusing on the miserable victims rather than glories and honours of the Rising, he makes us think of what the war is for when it causes so many deaths and victims. This is probably why the war itself is not portrayed on the stage. As the *Irish Times* wrote: "Great events are outlined only in so far as they had reactions on the lives of the men and women Mr O'Casey recreates" (qtd. in Dorsey 1967: 148-49). However, as Sin's case shows, Korean critics intended to appropriate O'Casey's plays to serve their nationalistic purpose: they wanted to use his plays to stir a nationalistic awakening among the Korean audience, ultimately to rise up against the colonisers.

Another aspect of O'Casey's plays that Korean critics considered extremely important was their popularity among the lower classes, especially the working class (Yu C. 1932c; Gim Yong-su 1931). This was due to the presentation of the realities of the Dublin slums and working class life on the stage, according to Korean critics:

오케이시가 取한 題材란 것은 그가 어릴 때부터 體驗한 더블린 貧民窟의 實生活의 한토막에 不過한 것이었다. ... 이 作品으로 마련해서 아베이座에서 未組織 勞動者의 새로운 觀客層이 動員되기 시작하였다 ... A.E. Malone 氏는 말하였다. “아베이 座의 新觀衆의 到來는 순 오케이시의 出現과 一致하였다”라고. (Yu C. 1932c)

The subject matters of O’Casey’s plays were just a slice of the realities of the Dublin slums he had experienced when he was young. ... These plays began to attract new theatergoers from the working classes. A. E. Malone said: “The advent of this newer audience coincides with the emergence of Sean O’Casey.”

As discussed in Chapter 1, Korean intellectuals sought to provoke a national awakening among Korean people through theatre. For this purpose, it was very important for theatre to attract the attention of and appeal to people, especially the lower classes, which is why they thought this aspect of O’Casey’s plays would help the Korean cause.

Korean critics also focused on the farcical and comic elements in O’Casey’s plays as one of the factors that appealed to the lower classes (Yu C. 1935b; Gim Yong-su 1931):

누구나 아는 바로 演劇藝術에서 笑劇의 存在는 그 歷史가 깊다. ... 그리하여 笑劇은 野卑하다는 意味에서 한동안 이를 排擊해왔다. 그러나 近代劇 이후 演劇은 너무 文學的인 까닭으로 一般演劇大衆의 嗜好에서 멀어져 가버렸다. ... 오케이시는 한동안 업신여김 받은 笑劇의 復活을 꾀하였던 것이다. 그리하여 演劇과 발

이 멀어진 演劇大衆을 劇場으로 끌어들이려 한 것이다. (Yu C. 1935b)

As is well known, farce has a long tradition in the history of the theatre. ... However, modern theatre has rejected it on the grounds that it was vulgar and it became estranged from the public fancy of theatregoers by pursuing a too literary tendency. ... O'Casey sought to revive a long-neglected farce tradition in order to attract the alienated masses.

According to Gim Yong-su (1931), the comic elements in O'Casey's plays were based on Irish humour, a tradition that enabled the Irish people to endure their harsh life under colonialism, while tragic elements represented the tragedy that the Irish people experienced under colonialism. O'Casey expressed this Irish national character effectively by the mixture of tears and laughter, he said.

It is true that a new audience, probably including members of the working class, emerged with the advent of Sean O'Casey; as Malone said:

The typical audience of the [Abbey] Theatre is radically different from the audiences which gave a first welcome to the plays of Synge, Yeats, Lady Gregory, Lennox Robinson, T. C. Murray, and others of the older school. To some extent the advent of this newer audience coincides with the emergence of Sean O'Casey, and the grant of a subsidy by the State, and that it is a less discriminating and less critical audience than those of the past there can be no doubt. (1929: 126)

Indeed, it is true O'Casey's comic elements attracted this "less discriminating and less critical audience." O'Casey used:

the disillusionment of the post-war period in such a way as to attract the kindly attention of all the anti-Irish elements in the country, and to attract at the same time an audience which sees only humour in his grim irony. (ibid.: 126)

The reason Korean critics focused on the popularity of O’Casey’s plays among the lower classes is also related to the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement. As discussed in section 1.3.3, its purpose was to educate and stimulate the masses through the theatre. Without the support of the majority of the Korean people it was impossible to achieve this purpose. Furthermore, “the urban working class became the main target of the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement as potential supporters of the movement [because] they had easy access to the theatre and were already accustomed to the theatre culture even if their favourite repertoires were sentimental melodramas” (Jang W. 2000: 138).

It is no wonder that O’Casey was considered a model playwright for creative writing in Korean theatre, as he was a patriotic playwright who wrote patriotic plays, plays that most suited the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement, as discussed above. Actually, Korean critics described him as a model to study and follow as “teaching materials” in modern Korea theatre (Gim Yong-su 1931; Gim Gwang-seop 1934c; Yu C. 1935b). Furthermore, O’Casey was described as a playwright who actually had an influence on the creation of Korean original plays:

「土幕」, 「버드나무선 洞里的 風景」은 이 오-케시의 研究에서 그 手法이 洗鍊되고 影響되었다. 이것은 우리의 文壇에 있어서 極히 最近의 現象이나 農民作家方面에 意圖하는 作家에게

있어서는 오-케시는 研究의 對象으로 意義가 클 것이다. (Gim Gwang-seop 1934c: 112)

The dramatic techniques of [Yu Chi-jin's] *Tomak* and *Beodnamu seon Dongr- ui Punggyeong* were refined under the influence of his [O'Casey's] plays. This is a new phenomenon of recent years, but O'Casey will be an important playwright whom would-be Korean peasant playwrights should study.⁹²

The allusion to peasant playwrights has the following background. One of the purposes of the modern Korean theatre movement was to stage the miserable realities of the Korean people under colonialism so that they could reflect on their realities, as discussed in Chapter 1. The site that could reveal the realities most honestly was rural farming villages and peasants' lives; due to the colonial policies, rural areas were the most severely afflicted. Thus, at that time, rural areas were quite frequently used as a setting of novels as a means of stimulating a national awakening. The modern Korean theatre movement also sought to employ peasant drama as a means of bringing about a national awakening and O'Casey was considered a good model.

In his critical essay on Sean O'Casey, Yu (1935b) also admitted that he was influenced by O'Casey and described in detail what he adopted from O'Casey's plays.

As seen above, the representation of O'Casey's plays in Korean theatre shows similarities to that of the Irish dramatic movement in Korean theatre. Just as the Irish dramatic movement was, so his representation can be construed as a repositioned

⁹² It seems that Gim Gwang-seop had misunderstood O'Casey as a peasant playwright.

product by the political factors under colonialism. Korean critics approached his career and his plays from the nationalistic perspective. He was described as a patriot, an independence activist, one of the most important dramatists of the Abbey Theatre, the most popular playwright among the working class, and a playwright of deprivation and resistance, and his Dublin trilogy was treated as the most important plays to be used as a model in Korean theatre. Unlike his representation in the list of translated Irish drama, O'Casey and his plays were the main focus of modern Korean theatre. According to Korean critical essays, he was a central figure in Korean theatre under colonialism.

3.2. Censorship of Sean O'Casey's Works in Colonial Korea

As discussed in section 3.1, according to critical essays of drama, O'Casey, under the influence of Korean nationalistic ideology, was received as a central nationalistic playwright in modern Korean theatre under colonialism. It should have followed that O'Casey's plays were used on the stage to serve the Korean nationalistic purpose. However, his plays were never produced on the Korean stage. In order to explain this difference in the representation between plays on the stage and in critical essays, it is necessary to consider the socio-political situations under which O'Casey was introduced into Korea. In discussing the relationship between ideology and translation, Peter Fawcett said that, in order to investigate the ideological aspect of translation, the following question can be asked: "What gets translated (what is valued and what is excluded)? Who does the translation (who controls the production of the translation)? Who is it translated for (who is given access to foreign materials and who denied)?" (2001: 107). However, as in the case of Korea, there may be socio-political conditions that control translation activities. Therefore, to each of the above questions should be added, 'Under what

conditions?': 'What gets translated, who does the translation and who is it translated for under what conditions?' The subjects who control the production of the translation may be two communities with different interests; they may be the colonisers and the colonised, as in the case of Korea, in which case, the colonisers' interference may affect translation activities. This section is concerned with this question. It aims to investigate how the colonisers' censorship interfered with the list of Irish drama translations and made Sean O'Casey a minor playwright in the list. It argues that, without the colonisers' censorship, at least O'Casey's Dublin trilogy could have been translated or staged. In developing this section, the secondary materials have had to be used to prove that O'Casey's plays could not be staged because of the colonisers' censorship, since play scripts translated for the stage are no longer available.

All the cultural activities in Korea under Japanese colonial rule were closely watched by the colonisers and were restricted by the colonisers' censorship. Korean theatre was no exception. As discussed in section 1.2, Japan began to intervene in Korean theatre even before it occupied Korea. The colonisers' censorship of modern Korean theatre was carried out in two ways: censorship of plays published in magazines and newspapers, and censorship of stage performances (Kim Jae-suk 1995: 23-24). In fact, not only translated plays, but also critical essays about playwrights or plays published in literary magazines were also the subjects of censorship.

The reason "colonial bureaucrats were especially concerned with controlling publications in the colonies [was] because of the serious nationalist challenge to their rule [so] control of the written word, an important aspect of Japanese colonial policy, was used to limit the spread of radical ideas ... and to curb criticism of Japanese

colonial administration’’⁹³ (Robinson 1984: 312).

The traces of censorship of Korean translations of O’Casey’s plays and articles and critical essays about O’Casey reveal this intention of the colonisers. Among Irish playwrights, O’Casey-related publications show the most traces of censorship. *The Shadow of a Gunman*, the only Korean translation of any of his plays, shows the traces as follows. Censored parts were marked as xx in the target text.

The colonial government seemed to try to control the message by censoring words such as ‘nation, race, (Ireland fighting to be) free, government (of the people), and (up) the Republic, which might awaken a national consciousness and strengthen the national unity:

TOMMY. ... But they met him face to face with the spirit of their race, ...

(O’Casey 1985: 15)

토미. ... 마주보는 그 얼굴에는 xx 혼이 끓으며 (O’Casey/Jang G. 1931)

TOMMY But they met him face to face with the surging spirit of their xx, ...

TOMMY . Oh, damn the dinner; who'd think o' dinner an' Ireland fightin' to be free. (O’Casey 1985: 16)

토미. 아 저녁이고 뭐고 귀찮아요. 愛蘭의 xx를 위한 鬭爭을 生覺하면 어떤 놈이 저녁 같은 것을 生覺하겠어요.

(O’Casey/Jang G. 1931)

TOMMY . Oh, damn the dinner; who would think of dinner when they

⁹³ The Japanese colonial government considered that even literary magazines spread radical ideas (*Chosun Ilbo* 1 to 2 July 1920).

think of Ireland fighting to be xx!

MRS HENDERSON. ... Mr Davoren is wan ov ourselves that stands for
govermint ov the people with the people by the people. (O'Casey 1985:
16)

헨더슨 夫人. ... 데이버린氏야 民衆의 xx 民衆과 같이 民衆의
힘으로 된 xx를 代表하는 우리들 親近한 사람의 한
분이신걸요. (O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

MRS HENDERSON. ... Mr Davoren is one of ourselves that stands for xx
of the people's xx with the people by the people's power.

MRS GRIGSON. She's shoutin' 'Up the Republic' at the top of her voice.
(O'Casey 1985: 42)

그릭슨 夫人. 제 목청 있는데까지 높여 「xxx을 세워라」 라고
고함을 쳐요. (O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

MRS GRIGSON. She's shoutin' 'Up xxx' at the top of her voice.

The expressions that could have been interpreted as disparaging or insulting or
as an attempt to subvert the British Empire were also censored:

DAVOREN. The British Government killed him to save the British nation.
(O'Casey 1985: 13)

데이버린. 영국정부가 영 xx을 救하려고 죽인 것이지요.
(O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

DAVOREN. The British Government killed him to save the British xx.

The censored part in the above example seems to be an expression that defamed the British Empire as in other translations of Irish plays discussed in section 2.3.1.

The following are further examples of censorship of subversive expressions:

AUXILIARY. ... you're a Selt [he means a Celt], one of the Seltic race that speaks a lingo of its ahn,⁹⁴ and that's going to overthrow the British Empire. (O'Casey 1985: 38-39)

副官. 켈트 (Celt) (켈트 Selt를 意味한다) 사람이로군. 固有의 말을 쓰는 켈트 族이 되어 xxx을 뒤집어 엎으려고 하는 것이란 말이지. (O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

AUXILIARY. ... you're a Celt, one of the Celtic race that speaks a language of its own, and that's going to overthrow xxx.

SEUMAS. Is the whole damn country goin' mad? They'll open fire in a minute an' innocent people'll be shot! (O'Casey 1985: 42)

슈머즈. 이 망할 놈의 OO⁹⁵가 全部 미쳐버렸다. 이제 OO을 始作해가지고 아무 罪도 없는 사람들만 다 xxx네. (O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

SEUMAS. Is the whole damn xx going mad? They'll open xx and innocent people'll be xxx!

As shown in the above examples, expressions that depicted the colonisers as attackers and harmers were also censored. In Korea under colonialism, before a play that had already passed the censorship in this way could be staged, the script had to

⁹⁴ This means "language of its own".

⁹⁵ The texts translated as OO seem to be self-censored by the translator to pass the coloniser's censorship.

be examined again by the police (Han H. 1988: 73).

Critical essays about O'Casey and his plays also show traces of censorship by the Japanese colonial government. Words that alluded to independence movement and activity, exploitation of a colony, or colonialism were censored:

一九一六年 復活祭 xx에는 市民軍은 ... 더블린의 市街戰을 했다.
... 覺悟하였다. 銃殺은 이미 當하고 말 것이었다. 그 瞬間이었다.
바로 그 때! 난데없이 xx 軍의 一齊射擊이 猛火같이 쏟아졌다.
그 덕으로 오케이시는 生命을 救하였다. ... 歐洲大戰이 일어나고
愛蘭 xx의 xx 運動은 폭발하였다. ... 以上の 諸作品은 모두 愛蘭
xxxx 時代를 取題하여 가지고 ... 이 民族은 英 x國의 x정
아래에서 七百餘年間の xx 生活을 벗어나지 못하였다. (Yu C.
1932c)

The Citizen Army were street fighting ... during the Easter xx [Rising] in
1916. ... He [O'Casey] was prepared to be shot dead. At that moment, xx
army suddenly fired a volley and he had a narrow escape. ... World War I
broke out and the xx movement of Irish xx arose. ... The above plays
[O'Casey's Dublin trilogy] dealt with the Irish xxxx period as their subject
matter. ... This nation could not escape from xx life of 700 years under the
x British x.

These traces of censorship seem to reveal the intentions of the colonised people and the colonisers: naturally, the colonised people seemed to try to stimulate resistance against the colonial government through lexical choices while the colonisers tried to keep them in check. We can draw an inference from this censorship of publications regarding how strict the censorship of the stage would

have been. The Japanese colonial government enforced repressive policies with respect to modern Korean theatre as they did to traditional Korean theatre, as discussed in section 1.2. Even if a play had already been approved by the censorship board, there was still a possibility the play script would not pass the censorship. So it was quite normal for the performance repertoire to change. And even when play scripts had been approved by the police, the police censors monitored every production in the theatre:

상연시에는 반드시 경관이 임석하여 대사의 일언 일구까지에
날카로운 감시의 눈이 매달려 있었던 것이다. (Han H. 1988: 73)

In the theatre, when a curtain went up, we always could find policemen among the audience. They scrutinised every single word of the actors' dialogues with eagle eyes.

The police also possessed the authority to stop the performance, or arrest actors or theatre practitioners on the spot if they were suspected of resistance to the colonial government or of anti-Japanese ideologies. For example, the *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa* (*The Death of Gim Yeong-il*) was stopped by the police in the middle of a performance in Pyongyang because of its anti-Japanese ideology (*Dong-A Ilbo* 7 Aug. 1921) and the Joseon Yeongeuksa theatre company also had its performance stopped and its members arrested in 1927 because of the scene in which the patriots, who had been in hiding, appeared with spears and swords, shouting, "Repulse the enemy and save the people from distress!" when the company produced *Silla ui Dal* (*The Moon of Silla*) (Byeon G. 1962: 54-55). The arrest of Yu Chi-jin by the police is the most famous event in the history of modern Korean theatre. He was arrested in 1935 together with members of the Haksaeng Yesuljwa theatre company because the

colonial government interpreted his play *The Ox* as a socialist agitprop (Yu C. 1993c: 135). The Haksaeng Yesuljwa theatre company had produced *The Ox* in Tokyo. This event made Yu Chi-jin change his course from writing nationalistic realist plays to writing historical plays. The colonial government even forced some theatre companies to disband.

This suppression and censorship were carried out on translated drama as well as on Korean original drama. We can infer that Irish dramas would have been the object of stricter censorship given the position and representation they had in modern Korean theatre. It is no wonder that theatre practitioners were very cautious regarding the selection of a repertoire that would pass the censors. It can be said that they practised self-censorship from the selection to the production of the plays: for example, Yu Chi-jin said they selected Gogol's *The Inspector-General* for the first production of the Silheom Mudae theatre company due to their awareness of the colonisers' censorship (1993c: 105). Given that, since his twenties, Yu Chi-jin had been an enthusiastic admirer of Sean O'Casey, he had probably suggested O'Casey's plays for consideration for the production of the Silheom Mudae, but it is possible that they would have been excluded from consideration through self-censorship. The GeukYeon probably tried to stage O'Casey's plays only after they had tried other Irish plays: they succeeded in staging St. J. Ervine's one-act play *The Magnanimous Lover* and Augusta Gregory's *The Gaol Gate* in 1932 without any interference from the colonial government, and it was after these productions that O'Casey's plays were considered for the stage:

이 作家의 最大傑作으로 손꼽는 「쥬노와 孔雀」三幕은 이미
劇團 實驗舞臺의 레퍼토리 中에 編入되어 張起悌 兄의 健實한
翻譯이 完成된 지 오래이다. 이 作品을 通하여 머지 않은

將來에는 오케이스의 面目을 舞臺上에까지 躍動시켜볼 機會가 있을 듯하다. (Yu C. 1932c)

His best play *Juno and the Paycock* (3 acts) had already been translated into Korean by Jang Gi-je and included in the potential repertories for the Silheom-Mudae theatre company. We will soon have an opportunity to reveal O'Casey's true character on the stage through this play.

We can see the ambition of Korean theatre practitioners to try to use O'Casey for their theatre movement: they tried to introduce O'Casey through critical essays, publications and stage productions. However, articles and essays show that *Juno and the Paycock* could not be produced on the Korean stage because of censorship. Yu Chi-jin said in his autobiography: "Not only my play [*The Ox*], but also ... Sean O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* failed to pass the censorship and could not be staged" (1993c: 133). In an interview with Robinson, the dramatist Jeong In-seop, when he met him in Ireland, also said Jang Gi-je's translation of *Juno* could not be staged because of the censorship (1938b: 141). In fact, O'Casey's play script for the stage never passed the censorship during the colonial period because the colonial government thought his plays were full of nationalism (Jang W. 2000: 93-94). As Jang Won-Jae commented, it was unrealistic to expect to be able to perform O'Casey's plays on the Korean stage during the colonial period although many Korean theatre companies had translated his plays and had tried to pass the censorship (ibid: 142). Only one translation of his play *The Shadow of a Gunman* survived.

In this situation, the only possible way to introduce O'Casey's plays in modern Korean theatre under colonialism was through critical essays, which was thought by the colonisers to be a less public threat than stage production. Korean critics

dedicated a lot of space to introducing his plays. Gim Yong-su, in his essay titled 'Sean O'Casey, an Emerging Irish Playwright, and his Plays' (1931), reserved ten instalments out of twelve to introduce the plots of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy: *Juno and the Paycock*, *The Shadow of a Gunman* and *The Plough and The Stars*. Although he did not use dialogues as they occurred in the original texts, the explanation of the plots of the trilogy, frequently quoting important lines of the characters that he thought important, went into such considerable detail that they were close to translations of whole texts. He did not include an interpretive commentary while he explained the plots so that the readers could concentrate on the flow of the stories. Before and after the explanation of the plots, he introduced the performance record and dramatic techniques of the trilogy together with the creation of the Abbey and O'Casey's involvement in the Abbey.

Sin Seok-yeon (1929), who considered *The Plough and the Stars* the most important play among the trilogy, set aside a lot of space to introduce the play. Especially, he focused on a revolutionary's speech to the effect that slavery is more horrible than bloodshed and it is glorious to bleed for the country, and translated the speech as discussed in section 3.1.

As we have seen above, the minor position of Sean O'Casey in the list of translated Irish drama can be said to be the result of both self-censorship by the Korean practitioners and official political censorship by the colonial government, with political censorship playing the greater part. Everything about O'Casey, from articles to the production of his plays, was monitored by the colonial government. In this situation, Korean critics tried to introduce his plays through their writings. When considering all these factors, we can conclude that at least O'Casey's Dublin trilogy could have been translated or staged in modern Korean theatre under colonialism had it not been for the colonisers' censorship. Therefore, it can be said that O'Casey's

position in Korean theatre was never minor, but, on the contrary, central.

3.3. Korean Translation of Sean O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman*

The Shadow of a Gunman was the only one of O'Casey's plays that was translated into Korean during the colonial period and survived.⁹⁶ *The Shadow*, which, together with *Juno and the Paycock* and *The Plough and the Stars*, comprises O'Casey's Dublin trilogy, was "the first of several dramas on the Irish 'Troubles' in which O'Casey concentrated on the comic and pathetic aspects of war rather than on its patriotic glories" (Ayling 2002: 561). O'Casey's emphasis on the "comic and pathetic aspects of war" might have appealed to Irish audiences because their struggle for independence had already won. However, it was not because of its comic and pathetic aspects of war that *The Shadow* was transferred into Korea. As Even-Zohar indicates, acceptance of a certain item from an external source is not necessarily linked to its origin, but rather to the position it has managed to acquire within the target (1990: 58). *The Shadow* was accepted in Korea because of its acquired position in Korean theatre through appropriations: patriotic glories.

First produced in April 1923, *The Shadow* made O'Casey's reputation in a single night: "The play packed the theatre for weeks with enthusiastic audiences, and made the name of Sean O'Casey the best known in Dublin" (Malone 1970: 69). Set in a Dublin tenement in the midst of civil war in 1920, *The Shadow* centres on a

⁹⁶ According to my survey, this was the first and last time that this play was translated into Korean, although two of his Dublin trilogy plays were translated later. *Juno and the Paycock* was translated three times, by Yi Geun-sam, Bak Jun-yong, and Kim In-pyo in 1981, 1992 and 1998 respectively. *The Plough and the Stars* was translated by Kim Jin-sik in 1994. It seems that the reason *Juno* was the most frequently translated was because it was considered one of the most highly regarded of Sean O'Casey's plays. These translations of the two plays were done by scholars of drama or English literature. Given the intervals between translations, it seems that, except Kim In-pyo's translation, they were translated from personal academic interest rather than in the context of a certain cultural boom. Kim In-pyo's translation is one of a series produced by the Modern British and American Drama Society of Korea.

romantic poet, Donal Davoren, who pretends to be a freedom fighter, and an innocent girl, Minnie Powell, who dies because of Davoren's pretence. Davoren lives in a Dublin tenement during the Black-and-Tan War, sharing a room with a peddler, Shields. The slum dwellers think that Davoren is an IRA gunman "on the run"⁹⁷ and Davoren encourages this belief in order to impress a pretty girl, Minnie Powell. However, when the Black-and-Tans storm the tenement, both Davoren and Shields reveal themselves as cowards: they discover that Shields' friend has left a bag of bombs in their room, but it is Minnie Powell who hides the bag in her room to save Davoren because she loves him, deceived by his pretence. Minnie is shot dead as a result.

This play was translated into Korean by Jang Gi-je, and was serialised in the *Chosun Ilbo* from 21 August to 22 September 1931. The aim of this section is to prove, by reading this translation with regard to the dominant translational norms in modern Korean theatre, that it was received as one of a number of important plays that could serve the purpose of modern Korean theatre under colonial rule.

Given that O'Casey was considered a major dramatist of the Abbey Theatre in modern Korean theatre, as discussed earlier in section 3.1, it is obvious that the selection of his play was related to the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement, as was the selection of other Irish plays. The remaining question is whether the Korean translation of his play is related to translations of other Irish plays. If it adopted the translational norms that were dominant in modern Korean theatre at that time, as other Irish drama translations did, it can be said that his play was also received for the same purpose as were other Irish plays. First, this section will analyse the translation strategies of *The Shadow* and then will interpret these

⁹⁷ *On the Run* was O'Casey's original title for this play and he abandoned it only because a drama of that name already existed (Armstrong 1960/1985: 55).

strategies with regard to the translational norms in modern Korean theatre under colonialism.

3.3.1. Translation Strategies of *The Shadow of a Gunman*

The Korean version of *The Shadow* reveals the intentions of both the colonisers and the colonised: the traces of censorship by the colonial government can be said to reveal the intentions of the colonisers to control the message for their own purposes, while the translation strategies employed by the translator can be said to reveal the intentions of the colonised people. As discussed in section 3.2, the colonial government tried to control the message by censoring any words that they thought might awaken a national consciousness and strengthen the national unity or that could be interpreted as subverting the colonisers. Amid this censorship, the translator of *The Shadow* also tried to control the message by making the text serve the purpose of Korean theatre through various translation strategies. This intention of the translator can be seen, first of all, in the translation of the title of the play.⁹⁸ In the translated title, ‘a gunman’ was substituted by *pyeonuidae* (plain-clothes soldiers). This was because its Korean equivalent *chongjabi* lacked the patriotic association in Korea that it might have had in Ireland at that time. The time period of this play is May 1920, during which month “the bitter struggle between the Crown and the Irish separatist movement known as Sinn Féin ('We Ourselves') reached a critical stage,” as William Armstrong also pointed out:

Before the end of 1919, Sinn Féin and its legislative assembly, Dáil

⁹⁸ Many Korean critics introduced *The Shadow* in their essays during the colonial period. Their translations of the title of the play were: *The Shadow of a Patriot Gunman* (Sin S. 1929), *The Shadow of a Gunman* (transliteration of the original title) (Jeong I. 1930), *The Shadow of Plain-clothes Soldiers* (Yu C. 1932c and 1935b), *The Shadow of a Revolutionary Soldier* (Gim Yong-su 1931).

Éireann, had been declared illegal, and Lloyd George had devised his ‘Bill for the Better Government of Ireland’, which recommended separate parliaments for the six northeastern counties and for the other twenty-six counties of Ireland. This scheme for partition at once intensified the struggle between Sinn Féin and the British Executive in Ireland.

(1960/1985: 54)

To combat the Black and Tans, “the Irish Republican Army split into small groups of fifteen to thirty men who used guerrilla tactics to keep their foes under constant strain. Many of its fighters lived on the run, moving continuously from place to place and seldom sleeping at home” (ibid.: 54). It is presumed that “a gunman” brought Sinn Féiners fighting against the British fighting force to the mind of the Irish readers. The translator seems to have substituted “a gunman” with “a plain-clothes soldier” to bring a similar associative meaning to the Korean readers’ mind. During the colonial period, Korean plain-clothes soldiers took part in the independence movement in Japan and Manchuria by using guerrilla tactics including assassination and kidnapping. The translator maintained this associated meaning throughout the whole text by translating Davoren’s identity into a plain-clothes soldier.

Another discrepancy between the Korean version and the English original was the expression “Black and Tans”. The Black and Tans referred to “British ex-servicemen recruited to augment the troops already in Ireland” (Ferriter 2005: 227). It was “a special police force recruited from the toughest ex-servicemen of the First World War. These detachments wore khaki coats with black trousers and black caps and were promptly christened ‘the Black and Tans’ after a well-known Tipperary pack of foxhounds” (Armstrong 1960/1985: 54).

Davoren attacks Seumas Shields' superficial and shallow religion by saying:

DAVOREN. ... your religion is simply the state of being afraid that God will torture your soul in the next world as you are afraid the Black and Tans will torture your body in this. (O'Casey 1985: 5)

This line was translated into Korean as:

데이버린. ... 자네 宗教란 單純히 이 世上에서 英國在鄉
軍人들이 자네 肉身을 괴롭힐 것을 무서워하는 것과 같이 저
世上에서 하느님께서 자네 靈魂을 괴롭힐 것을 무서워하는 것이
아닌가. (O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

DAVOREN. ... your religion is simply the state of being afraid that God will torture your soul in the next world as you are afraid British ex-soldiers will torture your body in this.

The translator made the meaning of “the Black and Tans” explicit to the Korean reader by substituting it with “*Yeongguk Jaehyang Gunin* (British ex-soldiers)”.

Later, “the Black and Tans” was substituted with “*Heonbyeong* (military policemen)”, which had a more terrifying associative meaning for the Korean people. When there is a Black-and-Tan raid on the tenement house, Doveren has a look in the bag that Maguire left in his room to check everything and finds bombs:

DAVOREN. My God, it's full of bombs, Mills bombs!

SEUMAS. Holy Mother of God, you're jokin'!

DAVOREN. If the Tans come you'll find whether I'm jokin' or no.

(O'Casey 1985: 36)

These lines were translated into Korean as:

데이버린. 아이구머니 爆彈이 가득하네 手榴爆彈이!!

슈머즈. 원 世上에 그제 무슨 실없는 말인가.

데이버린. 英國憲兵이 오면 실없는 말인지 아닌지 잘 알걸세.

(O'Casey /Jang G. 1931)

DAVOREN. My God, it's full of bombs, grenades!!

SEUMAS. Oh, my God, you're talking nonsense!

DAVOREN. If the military policemen come you'll find whether I'm
talking nonsense or no.

The Black and Tans are all round the house and Davoren and Shields panic,
when Minnie Powell takes care of the situation:

MINNIE. I'll take them to my room; maybe they won't search it; if they
do aself, they won't harm a girl. ...

SEUMAS. If we come through this I'll never miss a Mass again! If it's
the Tommies it won't be so bad, but if it's the Tans, we're goin' to
have a terrible time. (O'Casey 1985: 38)

“The Tans” in Shields’ line was also translated as “the military policemen” in
the Korean version. Later, the Black and Tans search Minnie’s room and Mrs
Grigson runs in to report what is happening:

MRS GRIGSON [*running in*]. They're after getting a whole lot of stuff in Minnie's room! Enough to blow up the whole street, a Tan says!
(O'Casey 1985: 42)

A Tan in this line was also translated into Korean as “a military policeman”.

As seen above, “the Tans” was translated as “military policemen” except during the first dialogue about Shields' religion. While “British ex-soldiers” had no terrifying associative meaning for the Korean readers, “military policemen” had a direct and threatening associative meaning for the Korean readers during the colonial period. A military police system was a key element of the Japanese Military Dictatorship Government during the colonial period in Korea. The Japanese government introduced this system in June 1910 in anticipation of resistance from the Korean people, as “righteous armies” activities were being expanded to the provinces at that time. The commander of the Japanese military police was appointed to the concurrent post of superintendent for police administration and was granted enormous powers to intrude into every aspect of colonial life:

[The military police controlled] agency of politics, education, religion, morals, health and public welfare, and tax collection; even the slaughtering of animals came under their scrutiny. The military police also had summary powers with regard to misdemeanours, and this allowed them to adjudicate, pass sentence, and execute punishment for minor offences. (Eckert et al. 1990: 259)

With these absolute powers, the military police assumed the key role in the colonial policy to suppress the Korean people during the first phase of Japanese rule

and their presence itself became threatening to common Korean people. They always wore a military uniform replete with swords as symbols of authority.⁹⁹ It was said that, when a child was crying, if you said a military policeman was coming, the child stopped crying. It seems that the translator chose “British ex-soldiers” rather than “military policemen” in the first dialogue to emphasise the shallowness of Shields’ religion, while he chose “military policemen” in other cases to highlight the threatening associative meaning of the expression.

Although the discrepancies of these two terms “a gunman” and “the Black-and-Tans” between the Korean version and the English original must have been calculated choices designed to make the original meaning plainer than it would otherwise have been, they seemed to have had enough effect that the Korean readers could resituate the place of actions in the play in colonial Korea. Korean readers must have associated plain-clothes soldiers with Korean independence fighters under colonialism, and military policemen with the Japanese colonial government.

Another prominent translation strategy adopted in the Korean version was omission. Shields makes a cynical remark about the Irish people when Davoren takes his words seriously:

SEUMAS. ... That’s the Irish People all over - they treat a joke as a serious thing and a serious thing as a joke. Upon me soul, I’m beginning to believe that the Irish People aren’t, never were, an’ never will be fit for self-government. (O’Casey 1985: 7)

In the Korean version, “I’m beginning to believe that the Irish People aren’t,

⁹⁹ All government officials, including teachers, were also required to wear swords.

never were, an 'never will be fit for self-government' was omitted. Given that Irish drama was considered a model in modern Korean theatre because of its political connotations, it can be said that such a negative political expression or negative image of the Irish could not be allowed in a Korean text, especially when there was a possibility of Korean readers interpreting the Irish situation as theirs, so no doubt could be cast on the Korean capacity for self-government.

The image of Minnie Powell was also altered by omission in the Korean version. O'Casey describes one of the characteristics of Minnie Powell as having no fear:

She has lost the sense of fear (she does not know this), and, consequently, she is at ease in all places and before all persons, even those of a superior education, so long as she meets them in the atmosphere that surrounds the members of her own class. (O'Casey 1985: 10)

In the Korean version, "so long as she meets them in the atmosphere that surrounds the members of her own class" was omitted. With this omission, Minnie Powell was described as brave under any circumstances. It was probably because Korea needed this image of a girl who could give up her life for an independence fighter under any circumstances. Korea needed another Yu Gwan-Sun, a woman who, as a student at the Ewha Womans¹⁰⁰ University in Seoul, participated in the March First Independence Movement against the Japanese colonial government and died in prison.

There was also an alteration of an original meaning in the Korean version. Davoren's last line is as follows:

¹⁰⁰ Although it would seem to be grammatically incorrect, it is, in fact, the University's correct name.

DAVOREN. Ah me, alas! Pain, pain, pain ever, for ever! It's terrible to think that little Minnie is dead, but it's still more terrible to think that Davoren and Shields are alive! Oh, Donal Davoren, shame is your portion now till the silver cord is loosened and the golden bowl be broken. Oh, Davoren, Donal Davoren, poet and poltroon, poltroon and poet! (O'Casey 1985: 44)

Davoren “bitterly comes to realise the great danger in being the shadow of a gunman” although his self-knowledge is ultimately fraudulent, as McDonald points out (2004: 142). Even when he recognises his own guilt of sending Minnie to her death, he speaks in a high-flown style, which indicates he tries to avoid confronting his own culpable self: he hides himself in the high-flown rhetoric because he has no courage to face his own guilt. Thus, the recognition of guilt, couched in this overrich idiom, becomes a mockery of itself, as McDonald also puts it (2004: 142).

In the Korean version, “poltroon” in Davoren’s line was replaced with “*Siryeon-ui Adeul* (the son of an ordeal, meaning a man who is suffering an ordeal)”:

데이버린. 아이고 죽겠다. 고통, 고통, 영원한 고통 – 미미가
죽었다니 무서운 일이다. 그러나 그보다 더 무서운 것은
데이버린이가 쉴즈가 살아 있다는 것이다. 아-도-널 데이버린
白銀壽命이 끊어지고 黃金寶盒이 깨어질 때까지 네 몸은 恥辱에
젖어서 있겠구나. 아-데이버린 도-널 데이버린 詩人이요 시련의
아들놈 시련의 아들 詩人 - (O'Casey/Jang G. 1931)

DAVOREN. Oh, my! I am dying. Pain, pain, pain for ever! It's terrible that Mimi is dead, but what is more terrible is that Davoren and Shields

are alive! Oh, Donal Davoren, your body will be soaked in shame till the
 white silver life runs out and the golden box be broken. Oh, Davoren,
 Donal Davoren, poet and the son of an ordeal, the son of an ordeal and
 poet!

The Korean version maintains the same high flown rhetoric as is found in the original text, but the replacement of “poltroon” by “the son of an ordeal” makes an alteration to the message of the whole text. When Davoren calls himself a “poltroon”, he is positioned as a harmer who causes Minnie Powell to die and his guilty conscience can be said to be a personal experience. However, when he calls himself “the son of an ordeal,” he is positioned as a victim who has to endure a pain. Of course, the pain is caused by himself, but in a broader sense, it is caused by the period in which he lives. His pretence to be an independence fighter caused Minnie Powell’s death, but what made it possible for him to pretend was the situation in which they were placed. Therefore, Minnie Powell’s death was a product of the period and Davoren’s pain was also a product of the times. The Korean version can be interpreted as conveying the message that both Minnie Powell and Davoren were victims of the period in which they were placed, whether the translator intended this or not. As Mason pointed out in his essay ‘Discourse, Ideology and Translation’, we do not need to attribute a deliberate intention to the translator in order to perceive the skewed representation in the translation (1994: 33). Korean readers in colonial situations might have interpreted this message as all of them being victims of colonial rule. It can be said that the above-mentioned alterations of the two phrases “a gunman” and “the Black and Tans” in the Korean version paved the way for making this interpretation possible.

The translator also tried to reduce the cultural differences between Ireland and

Korea in the translation of religious or culture-specific terms. Korean people were only beginning to be exposed to Protestant missionaries just before they were colonised and Catholic-related terms were not familiar to the Korean people. So the translator replaced Catholic-related terms with terms from the field of Buddhism. Davoren contrasts the common people with the poet to highlight the superiority of the poet:

DAVOREN. The People! Damn the people! They live in the abyss, the poet lives on the mountaintop; to the people there is no mystery of colour: it is simply the scarlet coat of the soldier; the purple vestments of a priest; the green banner of a party; the brown or blue overalls of industry.
(O'Casey 1985: 25)

In the Korean version, “a priest” was substituted with “*seungnyeo* (a Buddhist monk),” a figure more familiar to the Korean people, while maintaining the original message. There was another substitution of a Catholic-related term in the Korean version: when a British auxiliary, who was searching the tenement room that Davoren and Shields shared for a gun, found a statue of Christ and a crucifix, he said:

AUXILIARY. You'll want a barrel of watah before you're done with us.
[*The Auxiliary goes about the room examining places*] 'Ello, what's 'ere?
A statue o' Christ! An' a Crucifix! You'd think you was in a bloomin'
monastery. (O'Casey 1985: 39)

The word “monastery” in the above line was cleverly substituted with

seungweon, a word that includes meanings of both a Catholic monastery and a Buddhist temple.¹⁰¹

Although some culture-specific terms or names, such as Kathleen ni Houlihan, Cuchullian, or Banba, were transliterated into Korean, a generalising translation strategy was adopted for some terms to improve the understanding by Korean readers; that is to say, some source text expressions were translated using target language hyperonyms.

The actions of the play take place in a tenement house in Dublin, but there was no Korean term that could convey the connotative meanings of a tenement house. The tenement house in Ireland during the early 20th century had associative meanings, such as poverty, filthiness, and the lower classes. According to a report published in 1914 by the Government Housing Commission, almost one-third of the population of Dublin lived in 5,322 tenement houses, the majority of which were declared to be unfit for human habitation:

Many tenements with seven or eight rooms, which when the houses were built in the eighteenth century had accommodated a single family, now had a large family in each room with an average of over 50 people in a house; there were also instances of houses bulging with as many as 73, 74, and 98 people. ...Generally the only water supply for a house was furnished by a single water tap in the yard. The water closet, usually in a state of disrepair, was also in the yard, or where there was no yard, in a dark and rat-infested basement. (Krause 1975: 5)

¹⁰¹ In the Korean translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* translated by Hyeon Cheol and then published in 1921, "a nunnery" is also translated into *seungweon*.

Although the tenement house in O’Casey’s play was not as bad as those in the above description, it still had the associative meanings present in the term “tenement house”. It might have been impossible to find a suitable concept to convey these meanings in Korean, so the translator rendered this word as “貧民借家 (rented house of poor people)”, thus keeping the original associative meanings as much as possible.

Other culture-specific words were also translated as hyperonymic words:

SEUMAS. ... Now, after all me work for Dark Rosaleen, the only answer you can get from a roaring Republican to a simple question is ‘Goodbye ...ee.’ (O’Casey 1985: 7)

This line was translated into Korean as:

슈머즈. 愛蘭을 爲해 죽도록 일을 했대야 큰소리치고 다니는
共和主義者에게 簡單한 質問에 對하여 얻을 수 있는 對答은 ...
「잘있게 -」 뿐이야. (O’Casey/Jang G. 1931)

SEUMAS. ... Now, after all my work for Ireland to death, the only answer you can get from a roaring Republican to a simple question is ‘Goodbye ...ee!’

“Dark Rosaleen” is a “poetic name for Ireland (used when patriotic references in literature were forbidden by the authorities) and the title of one of James Clarence Mangan’s best known poems, a translation of one of Ireland’s most famous political songs ‘Roisin Dubh’” (Ayling 1985: 499). The translator substituted this word with “Aeran (Ireland)” to enable Korean readers to understand more clearly, although all

the associative meanings of Dark Rosaleen disappeared with the substitution. The hyperonymic translation strategy can be found in other cases too:

SEUMAS. ... An' what ecstasy it ud give her if after a bit you were shot
or hanged; she'd be able to go about then – like a good many more –
singin', 'I do not mourn me darlin' lost, for he fell in his Jacket Green.'
(O'Casey 1985: 27)

Here “Jacket Green” referred to the Irish military uniform and was also a sardonic reference to a nationalist ballad, ‘The Jackets Green’, by the Limerick poet Michael Scanlan. In the Korean version, this term was translated into the more generic term, “*gunbok* (military uniform)”. The generic name for a common British soldier “Tommy” and the plural “Tommies” was also substituted with more explicit terms:

SEUMAS. ... you're not goin' to beat the British Empire – the British
Empire, by shootin' an occasional Tommy at the corner of an occasional
street. Besides, when the Tommies have the wind up – when the Tommies
have the wind up they let bang at everything they see – they don't give a
God's curse who they plug. (O'Casey 1985: 28)

In the Korean version, “Tommy” or “Tommies” was substituted with “*Yeongguk Byeongjeong nom* (a British soldier guy)” or “*Yeongguk Byeongjeong nom deul* (the British soldier guys)” to facilitate the understanding by Korean readers although there were some losses in associative meanings.

Footnotes were also included within the text to facilitate the understanding by

giving additional information. For example, when Shields, who woke up late, asked Davoren what time it was, Davoren replied, “The Angelus went some time ago” (O’Casey 1985: 4). The Angelus is the “Roman Catholic devotion in honour of the Annunciation, beginning with the words ‘Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae’. It is recited thrice daily, usually at 6 a.m., noon, and at 6 p.m. to the sound of the Angelus bell” (Ayling 1985: 498). In the Korean version, the Angelus was transliterated with a brief footnote that “it refers to the bell for prayer” (O’Casey /Jang G. 193).

O’Casey adopted Dublin Hiberno-English in his play to depict Dublin slum people realistically, but this dialect was translated into the standard Korean language; there was nothing to indicate that the play had originally been written in non-standard English. As one of the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement, Jang Gi-je, the translator of this play, also might have had an interest in the development of the standard Korean language, as did other leaders. This was perhaps the reason O’Casey’s use of Dublin Hiberno-English was not taken into account in the Korean version.

As a whole, the translator of *The Shadow* tried to meet the horizon of the expectations of the Korean readers through lexical choices or omissions, while maintaining the original characters and the entire setting of the source text, resulting in facilitating the understanding and probably making it possible for some Korean readers to resituate the setting of the original play in a Korean context. Given that translation is one important form of rewriting (Lefevere 1992) and is also a decision process that does not take place in a vacuum (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990), but rather is influenced by certain linguistic, ideological and poetic factors (Lefevere 1992; Levy 2000), these translation strategies adopted by the translator can be said to be concerned with dominant linguistic, ideological and poetic factors in Korea at that time.

Toury explained these dominant factors in terms of “norms.” According to Toury, translation is the product of socio-cultural constraints rather than the reproduction of a source text or the product of the cognitive apparatus of the translator (1995: 53-69). These socio-cultural constraints, he went on to say, have been described along a scale anchored between two extremes: general, relatively absolute rules on the one hand, and pure idiosyncrasies on the other hand, and between these two poles lie intersubjective factors called norms. Here, norms are “the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations” (ibid.: 55). They are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities. Toury argued that, like any other socio-cultural activity, translation is also a norm-governed activity. He said that translation of all kinds and every stage in the translating event is governed by norms: norms govern the choices that translators make; they determine the receptor text and hence the relation between the translation and its source (ibid.: 56-67). Hence, the examination of the relation between the translation strategies of the target text and the dominant translational norms in the target culture can reveal the position of translated texts. If the translation strategies of a certain target text observed the dominant translational norms in the target culture, it can be said that the translated text was received to serve certain cultural and ideological imperatives in the target culture. Therefore, it would be necessary to examine the relation between the translation strategies of *The Shadow* and the dominant translational norms in the field of modern Korean theatre to find out the position of *The Shadow*. In the following section, the translational norms will be investigated, and their relation to the translation strategies of *The Shdadow* will be examined. The following section is the last of the chapter.

3.3.2. Translational Norms in Modern Korean Theatre

As discussed in section 1.4, the function of translated drama in modern Korean theatre was threefold: it was supposed to serve the purposes of innovation, subversion and national identity. What consequences might the function of translated drama have on translational norms, behaviours, or policies? The innovatory and subversive functions, in particular, may have an influence on translation strategies in terms of “adequacy” and “acceptability”: that is to say, they may affect the translator’s decision of whether to adhere to “the norms realised in the source text (which reflect the norms of the source language and culture)” or to adhere to “the norms prevalent in the target culture and language” (Toury 1995: 56-61), or in more political terms, foreignisation or domestication.

When translated literature assumes an innovatory position, it is considered important to deliver faithfully, for example, linguistic, cultural, and artistic elements and context in the source text because it is used as a model. The source text is considered sacred and translators try to reproduce the source text faithfully. In this case, foreignisation is frequently adopted as a translation strategy and translators do not feel constrained to follow target literature models and thus produce a target text that is faithful to the source text in terms of adequacy, as Even-Zohar stated:

Since translational activity participates ... in the process of creating new, primary models, the translator’s main concern here is not just to look for ready-made models in his home repertoire into which the source texts would be transferable. ... Under such conditions the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original) are greater than otherwise. (2004: 203)

In fact, when translated literature assumes a role of models for creation, it can be said that translations are done for writers rather than for readers or audiences.

In contrast, the subversive position of translated literature may involve a translation strategy of ideological manipulation or audience-oriented translation strategy so that the target text can be used to mobilise people to attain certain goals of the target culture. In this case, translators may impose modifications that are not textual constraints to serve their purposes and thus produce a target text that is not faithful to the source text in terms of “adequacy.” The purpose of the target text determines translation methods and strategies. Hans J. Vermeer (2004) explains this kind of case in terms of Skopos theory. According to Skopos theory, “the prime principle determining any translation process is the purpose (Skopos) of the overall translational action” (Nord 1997: 27). Nord also argues, “In the framework of this theory, one of the most important factors determining the purpose of a translation is the addressee, who is the intended receiver or audience of the target text with their culture-specific world-knowledge, their expectations and their communicative needs” (Nord 1997: 12). This example can be seen in the Irish case in that translation was done for the purposes of nationalism, that is to say, as a means of “inventing tradition, inventing the nation, and inventing the self” during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Tymoczko 1999: 18).

Therefore, as a matter of course, these positions of translated drama that required conflicting translation strategies led to controversies over literal versus free translation in modern Korean theatre. These controversies evolved around Sim Hun, Gim Gwang-seop, Yi Seok-hun and Yu Chi-jin.

It was Sim Hun who first raised the problems of literal translation in modern Korean theatre. In an article entitled ‘*Towonhoe-e Ileonham* (A Suggestion to the

Towolhoe Theatre Company)' (1929), he criticised the repertoire of the Towolhoe theatre company. The Towolhoe was a leading theatre company during the 1920s. Pointing out that *sinpa* theatre enjoyed popularity among the Korean audience because it dealt with a slice of Korean people's daily life, Sim Hun argued that adaptations of Western drama were difficult for the Korean audience to understand because the audience was unfamiliar with the subject matters of Western drama. Accordingly, he suggested the Towolhoe should stage original Korean plays rather than Western drama (1929). Although it is not possible to know what the adaptations staged by the Towolhoe were like, it seems, from Sim Hun's remarks, that they were not a "cultural transplantation", that is to say, "the wholesale transplanting of the entire setting of the ST, resulting in the text being completely rewritten in an indigenous target culture setting" (Hervey and Higgins 1992: 30).

Sim also attacked the repertoire of the Silheom Mudae theatre company. It is considered that the Silheom Mudae also staged literal translations of Western drama from the following statement made by Yu Chi-jin, the manager of the theatre company between 1935 and 1938:

原作者는 世界的으로 이름난 文豪인 同時에 우리의 大先輩이다.
그에게 對한 우리의 至誠은 그를 地極히 尊敬하게 하고 그를
尊敬하는 마음은 드디어 그의 作品에다가 絶對値를 두는 것이다.
卽 우리는 그를 배우는 사람이오 그는 우리를 가르치는
사람이다. 그의 作品에 충실하는 것은 그가 그의 作品에서 보인
바 營養素를 우리가 한방울 남기지 않고 攝取하는 것과 같은
意味이다. 이렇게 우리는 생각하고 原作에 忠實하게만 하려고
努力하면서 여태까지는 翻譯劇을 상연하였다. (1935e)

The original playwrights are great writers with world-wide fame and our

seniors. Therefore, we respected them and valued their works. In other words, they were our masters and we were their disciples. To be faithful to them meant adopting every nutriment from their works. That was our attitude towards Western drama and we staged Western dramas translated in such a way.

This remark shows that translated drama was used for the purpose of improving the Korean national theatre; therefore, translation strategies leaned toward “adequacy”.

In fact, it was very difficult for translators to decide whether to be faithful to the source text or to cater for the Korean audience because of the functions of translated drama in modern Korean theatre. The following statement by Gim Gwang-seop shows these difficulties:

늘상 問題되는 것은 外國劇이 어느 程度로 鑑賞되고 理解되는가 하는 點이다. 勿論 外國劇이란 制作된 그 나라 사람을 鑑賞의 對象으로 된 劇이므로 生活과 感情이 다른 나라의 觀客에게는 理解 못할 點 生소한 點이 적지 않다. ... 우리는 이 可能을 더 可能케 하기 爲하여 翻案을 試하려는 意圖도 있다. 여기에는 藝術的 立場으로만 하여도 꼭 問題가 있다. 그러나 그것도 考慮하면서 ...(1933d)

The usual focus of the issue is how much is foreign drama appreciated and understood. Given the fact that foreign dramas were created for foreign audiences, it is natural that, having different sentiments and lifestyles, the Korean audience found them unfamiliar and difficult to understand. ... Some translators are trying to adapt foreign drama to improve the

understanding. However, this is very problematic from the artistic point of view. Translators should consider this respect too.

The difficulties of theatre practitioners caught between the need to serve the audience and the need to establish a model were revealed most prominently in Yu Chi-jin's dual attitude toward translation strategies. He stated at first that translated drama staged by the GeukYeon was for dramatists rather than for the audience:

新劇樹立에 있어서 難解의 翻譯劇부터 시작할 것인가, 알기 쉬운 創作物으로써 出發할 것인가의 問題는 識者間의 意見이 많다. 勿論 좋은 創作物이 있으면 그것을 上演하는 것이 上策이겠지마는 그렇지 않은 以上 難解의 翻譯劇이라도 上演하여 戲曲術의 具體的 構成과 文學的 內容을 본받아서 하루바삐 우리의 新劇人의 出現을 促進시키는 수밖에 없는 것이다. 卽, 翻譯物 上演은 觀衆敎化보다도 오히려 作家 敎養에 있어 보다 큰 啓蒙的 役割을 가지는 것이라고 보겠다. (Yu C. 1934)

There are controversies among the intellectuals about how to establish modern Korean theatre: whether to start with translated drama which is difficult to understand or with Korean originals which are easy to understand. Of course, the best way would be to start with Korean originals if we had excellent ones. Otherwise, the second best option would be to stage translated drama, albeit difficult to understand, in order to study dramaturgy and dramatic themes, and thereby to hasten the emergence of Korean dramatists. In other words, the performance of foreign drama is more useful for training dramatists than for educating the audience.

His reference to the performance of foreign drama as being “more useful for training dramatists” can be considered to mean that translation activity should lean towards “adequacy” rather than “acceptability”. In another essay published later, Yu made statements to the effect that translation should be done for dramatists, theatre practitioners, and the audience simultaneously. Although he did not mention the need for the “adequacy” translation strategy for dramatists and theatre practitioners, his remarks revealed the need for Korean dramatists and producers to learn the following from foreign drama: staging techniques, stage language and its rhythmic play, and philosophical ideas (1935e). At the same time, he argued there was a need for free translations or adaptations for the Korean audience. Pointing out that translated drama led to complaints and criticism not only from the Korean audience, but also from literary circles because of its literal translation, he suggested audience-oriented translation strategies:

우리는 今後에 우리의 번역극을 어떻게 우리의 觀衆한테 가져갈
 것이냐는 問題에 대해서 나는 한 가지 對答밖에 안 가졌다. ...
 要是 外國劇을 우리가 어떻게 朝鮮的으로 消化시키느냐는
 問題에 오로지 걸렸으리라고 나는 생각한다. 그리고
 「朝鮮的으로 消化시킨다」는 말은 반드시 그 尺度가
 觀衆本位로서 遂行되어야 할 것은 勿論이다. ... 될 수만 있으면
 翻案이라도 좋고 改作이라도 좋다. (Yu C. 1935e)

How can we make translated drama appeal to the audience from now on?
 The only answer, I think, is... to assimilate translated drama to the Korean
 situation on the basis of the audience’s understanding. ... If possible,
 adaptations or even rewritings of the original drama will be no problem.

This dual attitude of Yu Chi-jin towards translation strategies, that is, “adequacy” and “acceptability,” can be considered to show his position as a dramatist and stage director. As a dramatist, he needed translated drama as a model to create original Korean plays and as a stage director, he needed translated drama that the Korean audience could understand and appreciate.¹⁰²

As discussed above, we can see that, during the 1920s and 1930s, controversies over what translated drama was supposed to be like in modern Korean theatre were closely related to the roles it was thought translated drama should take at that time. The artistic and ideological purposes of the modern Korean theatre movement characterised the role of translated drama as such and led to consideration being given to totally different translation strategies in modern Korean theatre.

For artistic purposes, it was necessary to reproduce original texts so that a new genre, a new style and a new concept could be transplanted into Korean theatre and a modern national theatre could be nurtured. In this case, translation strategies leaning toward foreignisation were needed.

In contrast, for ideological purposes, translated drama had to be acceptable to the Korean audience, so it needed to be translated in such a way that the Korean audience could understand it easily and completely. In this case, translation strategies leaning toward domestication were necessary. In other words, this meant translation strategies, such as cultural transplantation, were necessary for the Korean audience, which, at that time, had a cultural background that was totally different

¹⁰² Commenting on Yu’s article, which attributed the unpopularity of translated drama to literal translation, however, Yi Seok-hun (1936), a novelist, journalist and member of the GeukYeon, argued poor translation rather than literal translation led to the Korean audience finding it difficult to understand.

from that of Western countries and which had had little contact with the Western world.

Korean intellectuals and theatre practitioners tried to meet these two goals, and their arguments over literal versus free translation, or "adequacy" versus "acceptability", should be considered as the result of their efforts to fulfil the artistic and ideological purposes of translated drama in modern Korean theatre. Of course, as Toury pointed out, "There is no necessary identity between the norms themselves and any formulation of them in language":

Verbal formulations of course reflect awareness of the existence of norms as well as of their respective significance. However, they also imply other interests, particularly a desire to control behaviour, i.e., to dictate norms rather than merely account for them. Normative formulations tend to be slanted, then, and should always be taken with a grain of salt. (1995: 55)

The arguments over translation strategies in modern Korean theatre may be interpreted as stemming from this desire. Korean intellectuals and theatre practitioners might have aimed to offer guidelines for translation activities in relation to the position of translated drama in modern Korean theatre. Given that "norms are acquired by the individual during his/ her socialization" (ibid.: 55), it was natural that drama translators during the colonial period were caught between the need to relate to the position of translated drama for innovation and the position for ideological purposes. Having been a leader of the modern Korean theatre movement, it can be said that the translator of *The Shadow* also acquired prevalent norms while he was working in the field of modern Korean theatre, and translation strategies adopted in *The Shadow* revealed the need to meet these norms. While trying to

maintaining foreign elements in the source text with an eye on the dramatist, the translator adopted translation strategies, such as omissions, substitutions, generalising translation and additions with an eye on the Korean readers. These translation strategies were adopted under the influence of the norms that conditioned the translation methodology that circulated in the dramatic field in colonial Korea. Therefore, it can be said *The Shadow* was received as a major work that could serve the purpose of the modern Korean theatre movement.

3.4. Conclusion

The analysis of the reception of Sean O'Casey in Korean theatre proves that his minor position in the translated list of Irish drama was the product of the coloniser's censorship, which worked as a central system of the coloniser's political polysystem.

He was selected in Korean theatre because of his involvement in the Irish dramatic movement, so the selection of him was correlated with that of other Irish playwrights in Korean theatre. This is why his representation in Korean theatre shows exaggeration or distortion of some facts just as the representation of the Irish dramatic movement does. The authors of the articles on Sean O'Casey manipulated his image to serve their purpose: Korean theatre needed a patriotic model playwright to follow. Therefore, it is no wonder that the only Korean translation of his play, *The Shadow of a Gunman*, followed the translational norms at that time. The translation strategies in *The Shadow* followed both the adequacy norm to serve the purpose of making a Korean cultural repertoire and the acceptability norm to serve the ideological purpose in Korean theatre at that time.

Chapter 4. Innovative and Resistant Position of Sean O'Casey: Appropriations of Sean O'Casey's Plays in Modern Korean Theatre under Colonialism

As discussed in Chapter 3, Sean O'Casey's minor position in the list of translated authors in Korean theatre under colonialism was mainly the result of the colonisers' censorship. As a matter of fact, he was received among the Korean dramatic circle at that time as a major model playwright that Korean theatre should study, as shown in section 3.1. Furthermore, his plays were used to create a new dramatic model in modern Korean theatre to be used to develop a theatre of resistance. This chapter is concerned with this position of innovation and resistance of O'Casey's plays.

When O'Casey was first introduced into Korea as part of the modern Korean theatre movement during the 1920s, modern theatre was just beginning to be formed and Korean theatre needed a new model to establish its own modern national theatre. Although *sinpa* theatre was widely produced and received as a form of modern theatre during the 1910s among some Korean theatre practitioners and the Korean audience, Korean intellectuals and the leaders of the modern Korean theatre movement did not consider it a form of modern theatre because it did not deal with modern thought, relying on oral texts and an exaggerated acting style. Furthermore, it facilitated a pessimistic and nihilistic view about life and discouraged the will to offer any resistance to the colonial power amongst the Korean people (Yi D. 1985: 227; Yu M. 1997: 79-81; Han H. 1956: 237-38). Korean intellectuals thought they needed a new form of theatre that was different from the *sinpa* theatre and sought a model for a modern form in Western drama. "In such a state when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become one of the means of elaborating

the new repertoire,” as Even-Zohar argued:

Through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before. These include possibly not only new models of reality to replace the old and established ones that are no longer effective, but a whole range of other features as well, such as a new (poetic) language, or compositional patterns and techniques. (2004: 200)

As older models, such as traditional Korean theatre and *sinpa* theatre, were no longer effective, foreign drama, including O’Casey’s plays, provided modern Korean theatre with models for a new style of drama. This chapter is concerned with the role of O’Casey’s plays as a model in creating a new genre of drama. It will examine the appropriation of O’Casey’s Dublin trilogy *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924) and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926) by the Korean central playwright Yu Chi-jin in creating a new genre in the history of Korean drama. Yu Chi-jin was a central Korean playwright who contributed to the establishment of realist drama in Korea, a stage director, a drama critic, and a drama educator. He contributed to establishing modern plays as a form of a literary genre in Korea (Yu M. 1997: 303).

According to Han Sang-cheol, Yu was one of the best modern Korean playwrights during the colonial period (1999: 12). During the colonial period, he wrote three realist peasant plays, the so-called peasant trilogy, *The Shack* (1931), *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* (1933), and *The Ox* (1934), which depicted the impoverishment of the rural communities under colonialism. This trilogy set a milestone for realist drama and marked the emergence of peasant plays in the history

of modern Korean drama (Kwon O. 1982: 80; Gim Gwang-seop 1933b; Yu C. 1993c: 111). The three plays have since been studied in universities, played in national theatres and also studied by Korean drama scholars.

Regarding the influence of Sean O'Casey's Dublin trilogy on Yu Chi-jin's peasant trilogy, there are some previous studies by contemporary Korean scholars: '*Yu Chi-jin-gwa Aeran Yeongeuk* (Yu Chi-jin and Irish Theatre)' by Yoh Suk-kee (1974), '*Yu Chi-jin-ege Michin Aeraengeuk-ui Yeonghyang: Hanguk Geundaengeuk-e Michin Gumigeuk-ui Yeonghyang-e gwanhan Yeongu* (Influence on Irish Theater on Yu Chi-jin: Study of Euro-American Theater's Influence on Modern Korean Theater)' by Shin Jeong-ok (1976), '*Aeran Yeongeuk Undong-gwa Geukyesul Yeonguhoe: Yu Chi-jin-e Michin Synge, O'Casey-ui Yeonghyang-eul Jungsim-euro* (Irish Dramatic Movement and the Geukyesul Yeonguhoe: The Influence of J.M. Synge and Sean O'Casey on Yu Chi-jin)' by Kwon Oh-man (1982), and '*Sean O'Casey-wa Yu Chi-jin Bigyo Yeongu* (A Comparative Study of Sean O'Casey and Yu Chi-jin)' by Kim In-pyo (1998). Yoh and Shin focused on characterisation, pointing out that Yu was unsuccessful in creating realistic characters. Kwon focused on the historical background of O'Casey's influence on Yu, and Kim addressed O'Casey's influence on Yu's peasant plays in terms of characters, dramatic techniques and nihilism. Kim also pointed out that Yu was unsuccessful in creating characters. My concern here is not whether the result of the influence was artistically successful or not, but with whether Yu's appropriations contributed to the emergence of a new dramatic genre in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem.

It will be argued that Yu appropriated settings, characters and dramatic techniques from O'Casey's plays in creating his peasant trilogy, and, therefore, O'Casey's plays occupy an innovatory position in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem by contributing to the emergence of the new genre of a realist peasant

drama.

In order to know the background of Yu's appropriations of O'Casey's plays, this chapter will first discuss Yu's literary contact with Sean O'Casey, focusing on Yu's ideological motive and his theatrical view for popular theatre. Then, after a brief examination of Yu's peasant trilogy, the settings, characters and dramatic techniques of Yu's peasant trilogy will be discussed with regard to O'Casey's Dublin trilogy.

4.1. Yu Chi-jin's Literary Contact with Sean O'Casey

Yu Chi-jin's literary contact with Sean O'Casey was formed when the modern Korean theatre movement was evolving under colonialism. During the movement, modern Irish drama was the focus of interest among Korean theatre practitioners and dramatists and the field of Irish drama was considered as a means of developing the modern Korean theatre movement, as discussed in section 2.2. On the one hand, Yu contributed to the formation of the field, and he was influenced by the field on the other. Just as the field of Irish drama in modern Korean theatre was the product of ideological motives, as discussed in Chapter 2, Yu's literary contact with O'Casey also reveals a similar ideological motive.

Yu was born into a poor farming family in Geojedo Island, in the southern part of Korea, in 1905, the year of the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty, which deprived Korea of its diplomatic sovereignty. According to his autobiography, he was born weak because he could not be fed well due to poverty (Yu C. 1993c: 54). As he emphasised Sean O'Casey's poverty resulting from colonial rule when he described O'Casey's background in his essays (1932c and 1935b), similarly he accentuated his own poverty probably in order to reveal him as a victim of colonial rule.

However, after his father opened a dispensary of Oriental medicine, he grew up in a wealthier environment and was educated while still young. It was the March

First Independence Movement that first made him become conscious of his nation at the age of 14. The independence movement started with a special event in Tongyeong village where he lived: a student in Masan city was arrested by the Japanese police under suspicion of conspiracy for the independence movement and came back dead in a boat, which caused the independence movement to be established throughout the entire city (Yu C. 1993c: 71-72). Yu said he began to be conscious of his nation through this event. Following his father's advice, he went to Japan to study at the age of 16, right after the independence movement had been established: "At that time, whoever awakened was obsessed with the idea that people should learn more" (ibid.: 74). Yu read philosophical and literary books while he was studying in Japan and it was through the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake that Yu became aware of his nation realistically. The earthquake, which struck the Kanto plain on the Japanese island of Honshu on 1 September 1923, devastated Tokyo and other cities. This earthquake also led to a massacre of the Korean people in Japan. As an outlet for the tumultuous public sentiment due to the earthquake, the Japanese government aroused animosity against the Korean people: The Japanese government spread rumours that the Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai had sent people to Tokyo to poison wells to murder the Japanese people and massacred the Korean people on this pretext. Approximately 6,000 Koreans were killed during the ten days from 1 to 10 September 1923 (ibid.: 83-84).

At that time, most Korean people who lived in Japan were low-class labourers: they had lost their farming land due to the colonial agricultural policy and had gone to Japan and degenerated into low-class labourers. Seeing his countrymen suffering doubly, Yu thought that he should do something for his own country (ibid.: 88). This thought combined with his reading of the French dramatist Romain Rolland's *Le Théâtre du Peuple* (1903) in his first year in college and his hatred and resentment of

the Japanese people led him to consider the theatre.¹⁰³ Romain Rolland, a 1915 Nobel Laureate of Literature, asserted that “art must take part in the collective struggle in order to bring enlightenment to the people” (qtd. in Kim Jinhee 2004: 22). Yu believed that Rolland’s approach was something he could emulate in order to cope with the Japanese colonialists (Yu C. 1975: 101, qtd. in Kim Jinhee 2004: 22).

As seen above, Yu’s interest in the theatre was initiated by his environment: he was led to consider the theatre by his sense of social responsibility as one of the intellectuals in the colonial situation, not by his own artistic instinct or aspirations. He considered the theatre as a means to educate the people. Later, back in Korea, he planned to create a “*haengjang geukjang* (mobile theatre)”, to travel around fishing and farming villages and present plays for free (Yu C. 1971a: 60-61). However, this vision could not be realised because of a sanction by the Japanese colonial government.

In order to follow his strategy of using theatre to persuade the illiterate Korean people to confront the colonial government, Yu studied dramatic theories and frequented the Tsukiji Little Theatre, the centre of the *shingeki* (new drama) movement in Japan, to study theatre. It was there that he met Hong Hae-seong, who was the only Korean actor of the Theatre at that time (Yu C. 1993c: 90-92). Before he became an actor of the Tsukiji Little Theatre, Hong had directed Jo Myeong-hui’s play *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa* in 1921 as a member of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe when the Troupe made a tour of Korea. The encounter with Hong probably encouraged Yu to have an interest in the modern Korean theatre movement.

Yu also worked as an actor for the Haebang Geukjang (Liberty Theatre), a modern anarchist theatre organised by college students in Tokyo, and through these

¹⁰³ Yu Chi-jin published a part of Roman Rolland’s *Le Théâtre du Peuple* in the *Chosun Ilbo* on 24 January 1933.

activities he developed a leaning toward Irish theatre (ibid.: 92). Yu first encountered Sean O'Casey's plays while he was a student at Rikkyo University in Japan. It seems that his interest in Irish drama stemmed from his sympathy with the Irish political situation:

싱그라든가 그레고리 부인, 오케이시와 같은 막연히 이름만 들었던 작가에 관해 공부를 하게 되었다. 내가 이들에게 갑자기 관심을 기울이게 된 것은 뭐니뭐니해도 민족적 처지의 유사성 때문이 아니었던가 싶다. 애란도 매우 오랫동안 영국의 지배를 받으면서 민족적 수치와 고통을 그 어느 민족보다도 많이 겪은 바 있었다. (Yu C. 1993c: 92)

I came to study Synge, Lady Gregory and O'Casey. After all, it seemed to be similar situations between Korea and Ireland that attracted me to these playwrights. Like Korea, Ireland has had a long history of suffering and disgrace under the British colonial rule.

Yu's affinity with Ireland as a victim of colonialism and his interest in Irish drama as the product of colonialism reflect the representation of Irish drama in modern Korean theatre, as discussed in section 2.2. Given that the establishment of the modern Korean theatre movement was centred on Korean students in Japan, it can be said that Yu's understanding of the Irish people and Irish drama was partly influenced by his peer group and the representation of Irish drama in Korean theatre.

In particular, Yu was fascinated by O'Casey among others mainly because of his nationalism, rather than his aesthetic or literary achievements. Yu stated in his autobiography that he was especially impressed by O'Casey's profound love for his poor countrymen and his nationalistic indignation against the British Empire (ibid.:

93).

The fact that Yu's interest in O'Casey stemmed from O'Casey's nationalistic aspects is also revealed in his essay about O'Casey. As a bachelor's degree essay for the English literature course at Rikkyo University, he wrote 'Research on Sean O'Casey', published serially in the Journal of English-American Literature, *Ei-Bei Bungaku* (Henthorn 1983: 146), which was considered to be his first academic research on Irish drama (Kwon O. 1982: 71-72). Yu published a concise version of this essay in the *Chosun Ilbo* in 1932 with the title 'Sean O'Casey, A Playwright from the Working Class'. In this essay, Yu dealt with O'Casey's life, O'Casey's career at the Abbey Theatre, and the characteristics of O'Casey's plays. In understanding O'Casey's life, Yu revealed his ideological orientation: in describing O'Casey's life, he focused on the patriotic and nationalistic aspects of his activities, as discussed in section 3.1. He attributed O'Casey's poverty, his eye disease and his delayed schooling to the policies of the colonisers and emphasised his career as an independence activist and a labour activist (1932c and 1935b). In describing O'Casey's patriotic aspects, Yu sometimes exaggerated or distorted facts, as discussed in section 3.1. For example, during the 1916 Easter Rising, O'Casey was "a critical spectator" (Ayling 2002: 560), but Yu (1932c) described events as though O'Casey were an enthusiastic supporter of the Rising. It seems that this was creative manipulation on the part of Yu to convince his peers of O'Casey's value as a model. Naturally, O'Casey was described as a nationalistic playwright who depicted the lives of slum people who suffered under the political and economical oppression (Yu C. 1932c). This is why Yu felt an affinity to his characters:

나는 그의 작품 하나하나를 읽으면서 내 고향의 주변을
생각했고 특히 등장인물들이 나를 둘러싸고 있었던 통영

사람들처럼 느껴졌다. 그만큼 오케이스가 그려놓은 인물들은
생명이 꿈틀거리는 것 같았다. (Yu C. 1993c: 93)

While I was reading his [O'Casey's] plays one by one, I thought of the
people in my home town. I felt as if the characters in his plays were alive
and they were my neighbours in my home town.

Yu also created his characters as O'Casey did, based on the people he met in his
home town, who suffered under political and economical oppression under
colonialism (ibid.: 115). Yu admitted that, through this reading experience, he
learned what and how to write and how to create characters, and came to consider
O'Casey a model for his creative writing. Given that Yu's motive to devote himself
to the theatre was to educate the Korean people to confront the colonial government,
probably it followed naturally that he was attracted by O'Casey's plays and his
characters and regarded O'Casey as a model because his characters revealed similar
social and political problems. As Kilroy points out, O'Casey's plays were "at least
ostensibly, involved with social and political ideas, with how people live together,
how individual fate is defined by position within the group, the class, the system"
(1975: 2).

Yu was also interested in the dramatic structure of O'Casey's plays as a way to
reveal "the slices of realities" as they were. In one essay, entitled 'Sean O'Casey, A
Playwright from the Working Class' (1932), and another essay 'Sean O'Casey and I:
The Playwright Who Guided My Way' (1935), Yu described the characteristics of
O'Casey's plays as "tragic-comic", "centrifugal", "proletarian", and "nihilistic".
Here, centrifugal is the opposite concept of the traditional pyramid dramatic structure
where subordinate events evolve around the protagonist to reach a climax. Yu called
the traditional dramatic structure "centripetal" and argued that O'Casey's plays

adopted a “centrifugal” structure:

오케이시의 戯曲은 어느 戯曲을 보아도 꼭 조이는 데를 가지지 아니한다. 무슨 필름이나 編輯해둔 것같이 現實의 한토막 한토막이 外延的으로 羅列되어 있다. 在來의 것 모양으로 한 人物을 中心으로 하여 위로 쌓지 않고 옆으로 竝立한다. 그러니까 거기에 含有되는 現實이란 조금도 歪曲되지 않고 從屬되는 事件 하나하나는 제대로 각각 한 ‘人生의 斷片’을 그린다. (Yu C. 1932c)

O’Casey’s plays have no tight joints: “slices of realities” scatter around one by one as in the editing of a film. Unlike traditional plays, the subordinate events run “parallel” in his plays, not “evolving around the protagonist”. Therefore, realities are shown as they are without any distortion. Each subordinate event depicts ‘a slice of life’.

What Yu means by “subordinate events that run parallel” is a subplot. He thought O’Casey’s plays had subplots, which ran parallel to the main plot, as shown in *The Plough and The Stars*: Nora’s story constitutes a main plot, while Mollser’s story a subplot.

This structure was reflected in Yu’s own plays. In *The Shack*, the main plot is the story of the Myongso’s family, but the story of tenant Kyongson’s family is paralleled as a subplot.¹⁰⁴ In *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* also, the stories of two farming families are paralleled.

However, among the characteristics of O’Casey’s plays, Yu seemed to be most

¹⁰⁴ Throughout the thesis, I have followed the revised Korean Romanisation rules, but, when quoting *The Shack* and *The Ox*, I have kept characters’ names as they appeared in the texts that I quote from, *The Shack* and *The Ox* translated by Kim Jinhee, to avoid confusion.

attracted by the tragic-comic elements because of their appeal to the masses. As discussed in Chapter 3, Yu thought modern theatre's rejection of farce was due to its vulgarity, which had led to its becoming unpopular with theatregoers. However, one of O'Casey's contributions was that he revived the long-neglected farce tradition in order to attract the alienated masses (Yu C. 1935b). Yu thought farcical and comic elements also suited the disposition of the Korean people, and he found a model of such dramatic techniques in O'Casey plays:

한국 민족은 옛부터 대륙적 기질을 지니고 있어서 호방,
낙천적이다. 그래서 질질 짜는 것을 좋아하지 않으며 어떠한
난관도 웃음으로 극복해내는 기질이 있어왔다. 오케이시의
소극성(笑劇性)이 그래서 우리에게는 딱 들어맞는 것이었다.
(Yu C. 1993c: 94)

The Korean people are open-hearted and optimistic since they have inherited continental dispositions. They don't like whimpers or complaints and have survived any difficulties with laughter. This is why O'Casey's farcical and comic elements suit us.

The comic elements in O'Casey's plays were also reflected in Yu's plays. Yu adopted these elements in creating his characters. In the essay entitled 'Sean O'Casey and I', Yu says that he adopted the comic elements in O'Casey plays. He said his works were merely a rough imitation of O'Casey's plays and detailed in what ways his plays were influenced by O'Casey's works, focusing on the characters. For example he related his own characters of Kyongson in *The Shack*, Seongchil in *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village*, Hongmae's father in *The Slum*, Mr. Gang in *The Donkey*, and Malttongi, Munjin, and Usam in *The Ox* to O'Casey's characters of

Shields in *The Shadow of a Gunman*, and Boyle and Joxer in *Juno and the Paycock*. He explained that he used them like O'Casey did "to introduce comic elements while depicting the gloomy life of the poorer people" (1935b).

The study of O'Casey had an immense influence on Yu's view of the theatre. As mentioned before, Yu thought of the theatre as a means of educating the masses and, therefore, valued the popularity of the theatre most. In June 1932, he published an essay entitled '*Yeongeuk-ui Daejungseong* (The Popularity of the Theatre)' in a film magazine *Sinheung Yeonghwa* in which he argued that the arts that are not built on the people are rootless, describing entertainment and education as the cardinal elements of popularity:

演劇이 가지는 娛樂性은 이 藝術을 民衆에게 親交시키는 絶對的
魅力을 가지고 있다. 略言하면 娛樂性은 즉, 演劇의 大衆性의
親和作用이라 하겠다. 그러나 참된 演劇은 결코 娛樂性에만
그치지 않는다. 즉, 人生 生活의 微妙한 斷片을 끌어서 舞臺
위에 再現시켜 그 再現的 美로서 우리를 '微笑시키면서도'
한편으로 그 美속에서 우리의 나아갈 한줄기의 '敎訓'을
暗示하는 것이다. (1932b: 12)

The entertainment in the theatre has a role to form an intimacy between the people and the arts. In a word, it is an affinity element in the popularity of the theatre. However, the true theatre will never end in entertainment only. It presents a delicate slice of our life on the stage, making us 'smile' while 'guiding' us through our lives.

This view of the theatre has something in common with O'Casey's view in that both of them emphasised entertainment or amusement. O'Casey tried to achieve this

purpose through low comedy:

For him [O'Casey] the drama had to tell an exciting story about people whose conflicts were colourful as well as meaningful; it had to amuse as well as amaze an audience confronted by the mundane and profound crises of their fellow men. (Krause 1975: 56)

Yu Chi-jin (1932c) not only made use of O'Casey's plays in his own creative writing, but also had an ambition to develop the modern Korean theatre movement through O'Casey's plays, starting with *Juno and the Paycock*. However, this ambition was frustrated by the Japanese colonial government. It was not possible to stage O'Casey's plays due to the colonisers' censorship.

Aside from Yu's admission, given that modern Korean theatre was highly dependent, it is most probable that Yu's literary contact with O'Casey might have been a major factor in his creative writing. Even-Zohar observed that "when a target literature is highly dependent, literary contacts might be a major factor for its development" (1975: 44). The next section will discuss those aspects of O'Casey's plays that were appropriated by Yu Chi-jin.

4.2. Yu Chi-jin's Appropriations of Sean O'Casey's Dublin Trilogy

The position of O'Casey's plays in modern Korean drama is defined by the debt owed to them by Yu. As Even-Zohar pointed out, "The importance of a text for the polysystem is determined only by the position it might have occupied in the process of model creation and/or preservation" (1978: 32). If O'Casey's plays contributed to the process of the creation of a new model in modern Korean drama, it can be said that they occupy an innovative position. Therefore, it is necessary to decide first

whether Yu's peasant trilogy was a new type of model or represented the continuation of an established model in modern Korean theatre, and examine which elements of the peasant trilogy were the results of the appropriations of O'Casey's plays. This section will first briefly examine Yu's peasant trilogy and then will discuss the appropriations of O'Casey's trilogy by Yu in creating his peasant trilogy.

4.2.1. Yu Chi-jin's Pasant Trilogy

Yu's peasant trilogy, which began with *The Shack* (1931) and continued with *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* (1933), and *The Ox* (1934), belongs to his early works. These three realist plays depict the life of the Korean farmers who suffered poverty under colonialism.

First published in 1931 and staged by the GeukYeon in 1933, *The Shack* (two acts) is Yu's first play set in a farming village in 1920s. This tragedy concentrates on two farming families, which suffer loss and destruction under colonialism.

Myongso's family live in poverty and their only hope is Myongsu, Myongso's son, who is in Japan. They hope Myongsu will send some money to help them live, but he dies in an anti-Japanese struggle and only his ashes come back. Tenant

Kyongson's family, the other family in the play, is harassed with debts; they lose their house and leave their hometown. When this play was first staged in Korea, it created a great sensation among the Korean audience. Yu recalled in his

autobiography how there was pandemonium when the curtain fell and how some

passionate members of the audience ran into the dressing room. Yi Gwang-Su,¹⁰⁵ a friend and novelist, excitedly announced that a new genre was born (Yu C. 1993c:

¹⁰⁵ Yi Gwang-su (1892-1950) is a pioneer of a new modern Korean literature. During the colonial period in Korea, he worked as an independence activist, but later he turned to being a pro-Japanese writer.

111). What Yi Gwang-su meant by “a new genre” was a realistic peasant play that depicted contemporary Korean farmers’ life. The successful production of Yu’s first play can be compared with that of O’Casey’s first play *The Shadow of a Gunman*.

O’Casey’s first play won a great success by describing Dublin slum people. Gregory described that it was “beautifully acted, all the political points taken up with delight by a big audience” (1991: 497), and Joseph Holloway wrote in his journal that it was so successful that “crowds had to be turned away each performance” (1991: 496).

The Shack marked the advent of a new realist peasant drama in Korea as Gim Gwang-seop also pointed out at that time:

The Shack is a two-act play, which was published in *Munye Wolgan* (Monthly Literary Art) in December 1931 and January 1932. I wonder how fair an evaluation had been given of the play at that time, but I consider that this play marked the emergence of a peasant play in Korea. (1933b)

The Scene from the Willow Tree Village (one act), the second play of the trilogy, was staged at the Joseon Theatre in November 1933. This play also depicts the tragedy that two farming families have to suffer because of poverty: one family has to sell their daughter to a brothel at a price cheaper than that of a calf, and the other has to lose their only son, who falls over a precipice and dies. The story of this play is based on the author’s experience in his hometown during his childhood:

내 유년시절에 겪었던 고향과 고향 사람들을 진실하게 묘사해 보자는 생각을 한 것이다. 순박하고 착하지만 무력해서 빼앗기고 패배하고 절망하는 고향의 농민들의 극한적 삶을 묘사해 보자고

마음먹었다. 그래서 탄생된 것이 두번째 작품 「버드나무 선
동리의 풍경」 이었다. (Yu C. 1993c: 115)

I thought of portraying my hometown and my countrymen as I saw and experienced them during my childhood. I intended to describe the severe life of the farmers in my hometown, who were innocent and honest, but deprived, defeating, hopeless because they were helpless. Thus *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* came to be born.

O'Casey also wrote from his own experience as Yu did. He was raised in the Dublin slums in which many of his plays are set.

The stage production of *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* was successful in illustrating the miserable and tragic circumstances of farming villages in Korea under colonialism. According to Gim Gwang-seop (1933g), the production showed a high quality of stage craft and the tragedies of the peasants were more strongly highlighted by being shown in contrast to the idyllic and peaceful landscape of the farming village. Just as Yu's second play was a success, the second play of O'Casey's trilogy, *Juno and the Paycock*, was also a success. It was one of the most popular plays ever seen at the Abbey (Holloway 1991: 496) and it drew such large crowds that it broke the record of the Abbey (Krause 1975: 37).

The Ox (three acts), the last play of Yu's trilogy, is similar to the former two peasant plays in that it deals with the poverty and sufferings of farming villagers, but the actions of the play centre on an ox, which is considered the symbol of Korea. The main characters are tenant farmer Kukso's family; the ox has a different meaning to each member of the family. Kukso, the man of the family, values it even more than he values the members of his family and considers it to be the ploughman's pride even if it is useless for ploughing because machines have replaced its usefulness. To

Malttong'i, his eldest son, the ox is his only chance to get married. He can get married to a girl, Kwich'an, whom he loves, only when his family pay back the advance paid by the agent who sells girls to Japan. Kwich'an is supposed to be sold to Japan by her parents to support their family. The repayment of the advance can be arranged by selling the ox. The ox is also considered a means of paying the travel expenses to Manchuria. Finding no hope in his hometown where he will never have enough to eat even if he works hard, Kaettong'i, Kukso's second son, wants to go to Manchuria "to make pots of money" and wants to sell the ox to provide money for the journey. However, it turns out that the estate agent has already sold the ox in lieu of the overdue rent owed by Kukso's family. With this news, all members of the family lose their hopes and dreams. Enraged, Malttong'i sets fire to his family's landowner's storage shed and is taken to the police station.

Just as the production of the final piece of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy, *The Plough and the Stars*, did not take off smoothly, neither did the final piece of Yu's peasant trilogy go smoothly. While the production of *The Plough and the Stars* at the Abbey led to rioting because the opening-night audience considered the play an insult to Irish patriotism, the production of *The Ox* led to the arrest of its author and the theatre members who staged it because the colonisers considered the play subversive.

First serialised in the *Dong-A Ilbo* in January and February 1935, *The Ox* was completed during Yu Chi-jin's stay in Japan, and was first produced in June 1935 at the Tsukiji Little Theatre in Tokyo by the Tokyo Student Arts Theatre Company. The Tokyo Student Arts Theatre Company was an amateur theatre company organised by Korean students in Japan for the purpose of reviving the Korean spirit through the theatre in June 1934 when Yu Chi-jin was in Japan (Lee D. 5: 210).¹⁰⁶ The company

¹⁰⁶ Yu had visited Japan in March 1934 to study the theatre further.

selected *The Ox* as part of its repertoire for its first production (Yu C. 1993c: 129). It seemed it was possible to stage this play in Tokyo because censorship was less strict than in colonial Korea although Yu and members of the Theatre Company were arrested later because of this production.¹⁰⁷ After the successful production in Tokyo, the GeukYeon added this play to their repertoire in July 1935, but it could not be staged because of the colonisers' censorship. The Japanese colonial government did not allow the play to be performed on the Korean stage on the grounds that the play might have a bad influence on the colonisers' agricultural policies in Korea by depicting the miserable realities of Korean farming villages (Yu C. 1993c: 318). Therefore, this play could never be produced in its original form on the Korean stage under colonialism. It was in February 1937 that this play was staged in Korea, only after it had been transformed into a comedy in accordance with the colonisers' policy and with its title changed into *The Pungnyeongi* (Good Harvests) (Park Y. 1997: 113-14; Shin A. 1999: 168).

The Tokyo production of *The Ox* caused the author's change of course in his creative writing from realist drama to historical romantic drama. After the production, Yu and all members of the Tokyo Student Arts Theatre Company were arrested by the Japanese police on a charge of producing a socialist agitprop that could motivate the masses to stage an anti-government revolution (Yu C. 1993c: 135). Yu was in prison for three months without a trial. He confessed that this event made him change his artistic direction to avoid the colonisers' censorship:

줄저 <소>가 문제 되어 내가 종로서에 붙들리게 된 것이다. 이

¹⁰⁷ We can tell from Hwang Sun-won's example that censorship was less strict in Japan: Hwang, a member of the Tokyo Student Arts Theatre Company, published an anthology of poems in Tokyo, avoiding the censorship by the Japanese colonial government although he was later sentenced to 29 days' detention (Lee D. 25: 495).

사실이 나의 작가생활에 일시적 전환을 가져왔다. 즉 실생활의 현실에서보다 인간적인 애정면에서 작품의 테마를 구한 것이다. (Yu C. 1955: 88)

After the publication of *The Ox*, I was arrested and taken to the Jongno Police Station. This incident momentarily brought changes to my writing. I came to turn to romance and love instead of contemporary social issues for my creative inspiration.

Although, with *The Ox*, Yu's realist period came to an end, Yu is best remembered for his realist drama. His peasant trilogy is his most famous and enduring drama. Interestingly, this course that Yu followed is very similar to that of Sean O'Casey. O'Casey also broke away from realism after he wrote his Dublin trilogy, which is considered his most famous and enduring contribution to drama (McDonald 2004: 136). *The Silver Tassie* (1929), which followed the Dublin trilogy, marked O'Casey's break with his earlier realist style as well as with the Abbey Theatre, which refused the work. With *The Silver Tassie*, O'Casey began to move toward more experimental forms of expressionism, although in this play the new approach was only partially adopted (Brockett and Findlay 1973: 481; Welch 1996: 407). However, the motives of the two dramatists for breaking away from realism were different: while Yu was forced to do so to avoid the colonisers' censorship, O'Casey did so due to his artistic pursuits.

Yu's peasant trilogy was used as a means of national awakening during the colonial period. Gim Gwang-seop's remark about one work of the trilogy *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* supports this: He said that this play, describing the sorrows of farming villages aesthetically, conveyed the gloomy reality of farming villages; the farmers should realise this reality, and *The Scene from the Willow Tree*

Village is the work that had the duty of awakening people to the reality (1933g).

With his peasant trilogy, which depicted the severe conditions of life under colonial rule, “Yu became one of the first Korean playwrights to voice anti-Japanese sentiments through literature” (Kim Jinhee 2004: 23). The plays of his peasant trilogy became classics of the Korean theatre and marked the advent of a new genre in the history of Korean drama: with the trilogy, realist peasant drama came to be born in Korea. As Yu also admitted, his trilogy was created under the influence of O’Casey’s plays. The next section will discuss those elements of O’Casey’s plays Yu consciously or unconsciously adopted and appropriated in creating his trilogy.

4.2.2. Appropriations of O’Casey’s Trilogy

4.2.2.1. The Settings of Plays: from Dublin Slums for Anti-war to Korean Farming Villages for Anti-colonialism

Yu Chi-jin’s peasant trilogy is set entirely in destitute Korean farming villages during the 1920s and 1930s under colonialism: *The Shack* is set in a destitute old farmer’s clay house in the 1920s, *The Ox* is set in a tenant farmer’s house in the countryside during the 1930s, and *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* is set in a farming village during the 1930s. Yu’s choice of farming villages as the settings for his plays was mainly due to O’Casey’s influence, as he himself revealed in his autobiography:

내가 유독 농민들의 몰락을 통한 시대고를 집요하리만치
묘사하고 싶었던 것도 어찌 보면 오케이시의 시대 파악에서
힌트를 얻었다고 해도 과언이 아니다. (1993c: 120)

It is not too much to say that I got inspiration from his [O’Casey’s]
understanding of his age: I came to be persistent in depicting the troubles

and bitterness of my age by staging the ruin of farming families.

In the same way that O'Casey depicted the realities of his age by staging the life of the Dublin slum people, Yu tried to present the realities of his own age by staging the rural farming villages. According to Yu's interpretation (1932c), O'Casey's Dublin trilogy depicted Dublin slum people who suffered under political and economic oppression, and all these miserable realities were the result of colonial policies. Yu thought that O'Casey selected the Dublin slums as the settings of his plays in order to reveal the miserable realities under colonialism. Therefore, according to Yu, O'Casey's Dublin trilogy had two different themes: anti-war and anti-colonialism. Not only did it reveal how wars caused miserable bloodshed, fighting and innocent victims, but also the miserable and destitute lives of the Irish people as the product of colonialism.

This understanding of the Dublin slums as the product of colonialism reflects the Korean situation under colonialism. City slums in colonial Korea were closely related to colonial policies: due to the land survey and exportation of rice into Japan, Korean farming villages collapsed and many farmers went to the cities to become low-class labourers, forming city slums (Kim Jae-suk 1995: 15).

As one of the victims of colonialism, Yu's own countrymen under colonial rule came to mind as he read O'Casey's plays. Just as, from his profound love for his poor countrymen, O'Casey portrayed realistically his own countrymen who suffered under colonialism, Yu also wanted to depict the lives of the Korean people under colonialism (Yu C. 1993c: 93). It was Korean farming villages that could reveal the most severe damage inflicted by the colonial policies: the most prominent phenomenon that the colonial policies brought about in Korea was the collapse and ruin of farming villages and the subsequent downfall of farmers (Yu M. 1997: 326).

Between 1910 and 1918, the Japanese colonial government conducted a land survey for the purpose of the rationalisation and codification of the land system to expand land tax revenue, to seize any free land, including state-owned land, forest, and uncultivated land, and to obtain a source for rice after Japanese industrialisation.¹⁰⁸ The problem in the land survey was the reporting system. Land owners were supposed to report their address, name, location of land and so forth. However, the complex reporting procedure, the ambiguity between ownership and possessory title, and pressure from the authorities prevented small owners from reporting. Furthermore, the land survey was conducted by the Japanese authorities and the 'Landowner Committee' under the protection of the Japanese authorities. Thus, many Korean people were deprived of their land illegally. As a result of the land survey, the Government-General came to be the largest landowner in Korea, occupying 50.4% of the total land in Korea. Japanese land companies, such as the Oriental Development Company, also participated in plundering Korean people of their land, as the Government-General sold off land at bargain prices. Chartered in 1907, the Oriental Development Company had acquired 269,500 acres of agricultural land by 1930 (Eckert et al. 1990: 266).

The victims of the land survey who suffered the most severe damage were the Korean farmers. The farmers were deprived of their customary right of cultivation, as the Government-General reduced the length of tenancy from limitless to one year. They were also deprived of the title to share crop land, the right to clear uncultivated land, and the common right of pasturage and quarrying on public land. Thus, the farmers fell into a status of feudal tenancy. Most Korean farmers were in debt. The peasants who lost their livelihood became slash-and-burn farmers or emigrated to

¹⁰⁸ For more about the land survey, see Bak G. 1986: 63-98.

Manchuria, the Maritime Province, or Japan to become labourers or beggars. More than 150,000 people left their hometown in 1925 alone (Kang M. 1985: 99-100). Furthermore, exportation of rice to Japan led to deterioration in the lives of Korean farmers.

Yu Chi-jin wanted to portray this situation in his plays. The characters in Yu's peasant trilogy are all victims of colonial agricultural policies. Yu described farming villagers who were forced to leave their hometown or had to lead a miserable life in their hometown. In *The Shack*, Kyongson's family is forced out of their home and has to leave their hometown, and Myongso's family has to lose their only son, who was their only hope in their otherwise helpless life; in *The Scene*, poverty causes the death of a young man and the sale of a young girl; in *The Ox*, even if the family were to have a good harvest, there would not be a single grain of rice left for their food.

Just as O'Casey brought "new spirit and significance" to Irish audiences by portraying the bloodshed, bitterness, misery and tragedy that the Irish people experienced, Yu also intended to bring a new spirit to the Korean audience by presenting the realities of their misery and tragedy on the stage (Yu C. 1932c). Yu's theatrical purpose was to educate and awaken the Korean people by depicting their realities. Yu could achieve this purpose by drawing the subjects from farming villages that were being destroyed. By replacing Dublin slums with Korean farming villages, Yu could deliver the message of anti-colonialism.

4.2.2.2. Characters

The vividness of characterisation in the Dublin trilogy is recognised as one of O'Casey's achievements and is one element that "gives his work universality" as

Ayling put it (2002: 560).¹⁰⁹ Characters in the trilogy can be divided into two groups: heroic or realistic women and mock-heroic or unrealistic men.

Most women characters are presented heroically, that is, as having the qualities of a heroine: they are depicted as having the courage to face reality and risk their lives to save other people when necessary. For instance, Minnie Powell in *The Shadow of a Gunman* risks her life to save the man she loves, Juno in *Juno and the Paycock* never gives up even in hopeless situations, and Bessie Burgess in *The Plough and The Stars* is shot and killed while taking care of Nora who gives birth to a dead child and goes mad in her anxiety about her husband. The courageous heroic behaviours of O'Casey's women are rooted in their awareness and acceptance of their reality. They seek practical solutions to the problems they face. In Minnie Powell's view, it was the best practical choice to hide the bag of bombs in her room because she thought the Black and Tans won't search her room. Juno's brave behaviour also comes from the acceptance of her reality. Her daughter is abandoned in her pregnancy, and her husband is hopeless. A realistic choice is to leave her husband with her pregnant daughter. Likewise is Bessie Burgess's brave behaviour: she quits quarrelling with Mrs Gogan and concentrates on taking care of Nora when necessary.

In contrast, O'Casey's men are presented as idealists or cowards who are unable to face the reality of their lives: Davoren in *The Shadow* is a "poltroon" who is not able to cope with a dangerous situation and makes Minnie Powell an innocent victim by pretending to be "a gunman on the run"; Jack Boyle in *Juno* is a coward and also a braggart who is not willing to act and has no courage to do so; finally, Jack

¹⁰⁹ Ayling says that "though he [O'Casey] remained true to his working-class and national origins throughout a long and prolific life, the depth of his compassion for suffering humanity, breadth of characterization and pervasive sense of humour combine to give his work universality" (2002: 560).

Clitheroe in *The Plough* is a mock-heroic chauvinist who destroys his own family. They are presented as mock-heroic: they pretend to be heroic when they are not in reality. Davoren pretends to be a gunman on the run, Jack Boyle wants to be called a Captain, and Jack Clitheroe pretends to go to war bravely for the nation. The ultimate nature of their reality is based on their mind, and they cannot see the problems they face. Through this mock-heroic mode their idealism is conveyed.

As Brockett and Findlay point out, O'Casey's characters, "strongly contrasted individuals who are brought into close contact by living conditions, [are] the social unit ... which is most important, for not only does it provide the immediate and human context, it serves as a microcosm of contemporary Irish attitudes" (1973: 480). O'Casey created "the texture of life" rather than "structured stories" through the juxtaposition of these contrasted individuals:

His men usually talk about (and sometimes die for) ideals, whereas his women cope with the realities of daily life. The conflicts that result from the juxtaposition of contrasting individuals, ideals, and priorities lead to humor and violence. ... Overall, the works are more concerned with creating the texture of life than with telling clearly structured stories. (ibid.: 480)

Yu Chi-jin's characters in his peasant trilogy show similarities to these characters. Most of his men lack the courage needed to face their realities and are unable to support their families. In *The Shack*, Myongso, an old man who is in extremely poor health, is unable to support his family, and Kyongson shows no sign of being aware of the responsibility to take care of his family, instead being always drunk to forget and avoid the reality of his situation. Kukso in *The Ox* is unrealistic:

he insists on keeping the ox that is not useful for farming any more because machines have replaced oxen, and he loses his mind when he finds that the ox has been sold by the land agency. In *The Scene*, the men of the families are non-existent: they all died long ago.

In contrast, women in Yu's trilogy are presented as being realistic and taking responsibility for supporting their families. In *The Shack*, it is Myongso's wife and Kyongson's wife that take care of their families, in *The Ox* Kukso's wife is described as being more ready than is her husband to face reality, and in *The Scene*, it is women that take the role of the man of the family. Yu's women are also innocent victims of their environment, like O'Casey's women, Minnie Powell and Nora Clitheroe: Yu's women go mad or are sold off because of poverty. This resemblance between O'Casey's and Yu's characters seems to be the result of conscious or unconscious appropriations of O'Casey's characters by Yu.

A glance at the characters, in *The Shack* especially, shows the similarity to those in *Juno*. Members of Myongso's family resemble those of the Boyle family. Myongso, the man of the family, is in his 60s and is unable to support his family; Jack, the man of the Boyle family, is also in his 60s and likewise is unable to support his family. Myongso's wife takes responsibility for supporting her family; similarly, Jack's wife is responsible for the support of her family. Both families have one daughter and one son; both of their sons are killed by being involved in independence activities. However, in *The Shack*, Yu juxtaposes the story of another family, Kyongson's family, with that of Myongso's family, in order to present various facets of the tragic realities of the Korean people under colonialism. Among the characters, it is Kumnyo, Myongso's daughter, and Kyongson, the man of the Kang family, that show the traces of appropriations of O'Casey's characters.

Unlike Mary in *Juno*, an unrealistic idealist who stands up for her principles,

Kumnyo is closely connected to the realities of the situation. Mary is not down to earth. She wears a ribbon round her head and silk stockings on her legs even when she goes on a strike and does not realise what outcome her behaviour would bring. When her mother warns, “When the employers sacrifice wan victim, the Trades Unions go wan better be sacrificin’ a hundred”, she just retorts, “It doesn’t matter what you say, ma – a principle’s a principle” (O’Casey 1991: 207). The nature of her reality is based on her ideal principles and she is not willing to take any responsibility in real life. She refuses to bring even a drink of water to her brother Johnny, who is not well.

By contrast, Kumnyo is very realistic and responsible. It is in Kumnyo rather than in her mother that we can find the role and characteristics of Juno Boyle. As Juno “always remains close to the realities of life and when there is a call for responsible action” she puts aside self-gratification and acts (Krause 1975: 79), Kumnyo takes the same role in Yu’s play. Each act of *The Shack* starts with one of Kumnyo’s sounds: Act I starts with the sound of the loom that Kumnyo makes and Act II starts with a song that Kumnyo teaches Sundol. These are the sounds of life in dark and gloomy circumstances. As Juno works to support her family, Kumnyo also works to support her family. Although apparently it is Kumnyo’s mother that assumes the responsibility for supporting her family, it is Kumnyo who does so because Kumnyo weaves the straw-mats and makes the straw head-pads that are the means of making a living. Kumnyo’s mother just sells them. As Juno assumes the responsibility for taking care of “her obsessive wounded son Johnny” along with her worthless husband, it is Kumnyo’s responsibility to take care of her father, an old man in poor health who cannot take care of himself.

Both Juno and Kumnyo have the sense to see reality and show a careful concern for others. When they find Mary has been seduced, Johnny and Captain Boyle think

of their honour first and try to avoid reality. However, Juno thinks of her daughter first and tries to find a realistic solution. When he hears about Mary's pregnancy, Jack says, "Oh, isn't this a nice thing to come on top o' me, an' the state I'm in! A pretty show I'll be to Joxer an' to that oul' wan, Madigan! Amn't I afther goin' through enough without havin' to go through this!" (O'Casey 1998: 134), and Johnny says, "She should be dhriven out o' th' house she's brought disgrace on!" (ibid.: 135). However, Juno shows a different attitude. She says to her husband:

What you an' I'll have to go through'll be nothin' to what poor Mary'll have to go through; for you an' me is middin' old, an' most of our years is spent; but Mary'll have maybe forty years to face an' handle, an' every wan of them'll be tainted with a bitter memory. (ibid.: 134)

Although, to Johnny and the Captain, Mary's pregnancy is just a disgrace that they want to avoid, to Juno, it is a suffering to be shared. When Mary grieves that "My poor little child that'll have no father!", Juno encourages her by saying, "It'll have what's far better – it'll have two mothers" (ibid.: 145-46). As a realistic solution, as Brockett and Findlay put it, Juno "at last takes decisive action by leaving Boyle so that she can make a decent life for her daughter and the unborn child" (1973: 480).

Kumnyo in *The Shack* also shows these realistic and humanist characteristics. When the district supervisor brings them a newspaper that carries a picture of a young man who has the same name as her brother, and says probably her brother staged an independence movement in Japan and was arrested and imprisoned by the police, her mother tries to deny the reality, without knowing what her son did:

거짓말이야. 그 사람은 우리 명수가 아니야. 우리 명수가 그까짓

훔치기교를 해? 그럴 리는 없어. 원, 이 세상에 이름 같은 사람이
없구, 화상 같은 사람이 없을 거라구. (Yu C. 1971b: 354)

That's a lie. That man in the paper is not my son. My son wouldn't do
anything behind anyone's back. That's impossible. That man looks like my
son and has the same name, but he isn't my son. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004:
40)

Her father's attitude is no different. He is driven to despair:

아아, 뭐가 뭔지 꿈 같군 그래. 금녀야, 난 아찔아찔현 비탈
위에서 별안간 깊은 구렁 속으로 떨어진 것 같다. 아무리 손을
쳐두 구할 이 없는 구렁 속으로 ... (Yu C. 1971b: 355)

I don't know what's what. It must be a nightmare. Kumnyo, I feel like I'm
falling from the edge of a cliff into the bottom of a black storm. I'm falling
into a storm that I can't escape. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 42)

However, Kumnyo's response is different. She is calm and tries to find out the
truth. She asks the district supervisor, “그 청년이 갇혔다문 징역은 몇 해나
갈까요? (Yu C. 1971b: 355) If the young man is incarcerated, how long will he have
to be in prison?” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 41) and asks her father to write a letter to
her brother so that they may find out the truth. While she soothes her mother who is
gradually having a nervous breakdown and takes care of her father who is becoming
exhausted, she finds out what her brother did by asking her brother's friends. Finding
that what her brother did was a patriotic action and knowing what the probable fate
of a nationalist will prove to be, she comforts and encourages her parents to be proud
of her brother instead of being driven into despair. This is quite different to the

attitudes of O'Casey's women to patriotic activism.

Regarding Johnny's patriotic activism in *Juno*, Mrs Boyle's response is skeptical:

The bullet he got in the hip in Easter Week was bad enough; but the bomb that shattered his arm in the fight in O'Connell Street put the finishin' touch on him. I knew he was makin' a fool of himself. God knows I went down on me bended knees to him not to go agen the Free State. (O'Casey 1991: 207)

In Mrs Boyle's view, it is a stupid thing to go against the government and Johnny's act was stupid. By contrast, Mary's response is very neutral. She says, "He stuck to his principles, an', no matter how you may argue, ma, a principle's a principle" (O'Casey 1991: 208). She does not praise or criticise Johnny's patriotic act. In her view, Johnny did what he had to do. These different attitudes from Kumnyo may be related to the theme of the plays. *Juno* conveys the anti-war message, while *The Shack* delivers the message of resistance. Yu Chi-jin attempted to awaken the Korean people by depicting their reality in his plays.

Kumnyo never gives up hope and refuses to capitulate even in hopeless circumstances. When Kyongson's family are deprived of their shelter and forced to leave their hometown, Kumnyo says to Sundol, the son of Kyongson's family: "순돌아, 이 집이나 잘 봐 두어라. 크거든 다시 찾아오게. (Yu C. 1971b: 363) Sundol, have a good look at this house and remember it so that you can come back when you grow up" (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 51). With this remark, she convinces them that, although they are forced to leave their hometown now, they surely will be able to take it back later. The Korean readers and audience at that time

might have interpreted the hometown as their home country: they will be able to take their home country back from the colonisers someday. Kumnyo, giving the lantern to Sundol, tells him: “순돌아, 이렇게 높직하게 쳐들고 가거라. 말 탄 신랑같이. (Yu C. 1971b: 363) Sundol, you lead the way. Raise the lantern up high as if a bridegroom has entered the village riding on horseback” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 52). Here “lantern” and “bridegroom” can be interpreted as a bright future and hope. Kumnyo wants Sundol’s family to have hope for their bright future even in a bitter situation. This word may be applicable to herself. Even if her brother is found to be dead, life should go on and she should confront and survive the adversity.

Neither Juno nor Kumnyo ever give way to despair or give up their life even in the worst situation. They know whining is not going to do any good, as Juno comments in *Juno* (O’Casey 1998: 138). When she finds out about her daughter Mary’s seduction, Juno knows that she alone will “have to bear th’ biggest part o’ this trouble” (ibid.: 138) as she has kept the home together for the past few years, but she stands, assuming the burden of it. Even when her son is found dead, she tries to find a positive power to make life move forward when Mary denies God. At hearing the news of Johnny’s death, Mary cries, “it’s throe what Jerry Devine says – there isn’t a God, there isn’t a God; if there was He wouldn’t let these things happen!” (O’Casey 1991: 252). However, while she laments the death of her son as Mrs Tancred did, Mrs Boyle prays for love instead of hatred:

What was the pain I suffered, Johnny, bringin’ you into the world to carry you to your cradle, to the pains I’ll suffer carryin’ you out o’ the world to bring you to your grave! Mother o’ God, Mother o’ God, have pity on us all! Blessed Virgin, where were you when me darlin’ son was riddled with bullets, when me darlin’ son was riddled with bullets? Sacred heart o’

Jesus, take away our hearts o' stone, and give us hearts o' flesh! Take away this murdherin' hate an' give us Thine own eternal love! (ibid.: 146)

The same will to overcome adversity can be found in Kumnyo's attitude in *The Shack*. After the remains of her brother have been delivered from Japan, the only thing left to Kumnyo is to assume the burden of her parents: her mother who has gone mad and her sick father who cannot take care of himself. Only gloomy realities await her, but Kumnyo never allows herself to sink into despair:

아버지, 서러 마세유. 서러워 마시구 이대루 꼭 참구 살아가세유.
네, 아버지! 결코 오빠는 우릴 저버리진 않을 거예유. 죽은
혼이라두 살아 있어, 우릴 꼭 돌봐 줄 거예유. 그 때까지 우린
꼭 참구 살아가유. 예, 아버지! (Yu C. 1971b: 370)

Father, control your grief. Be brave and let us go on with our lives. Father, Myongsu will never forget about us. Even though his body is gone, his spirit will live on and take good care of us. Let us persevere and keep on living our lives. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 59)

Only the positive attitudes of people like Juno and Kumnyo can make lives go on and go forward. The reason Yu Chi-jin endowed Kumnyo, not her mother, with Juno's characteristics can be seen to be related to the message he tried to deliver in *The Shack*: It seems that he tried to present the vision of Korea's future through the second generation. If the first generation in *The Shack* represents the hopeless present, the second generation represents the hopeful future. In Samjo's words, "죽자꾸나 농살 지어두 입엔 거미줄을 면치 못하는 세상인데. (Yu C. 1971b: 348) The reality is that they cannot even feed themselves even if they work their

butts off” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 33). However, the first generation do not try to find ways out of their realities. Even if they cannot make a living in their village, they think they should live together, as Kumnyo’s mother says: “남의 집을 살아두 내 고장에서 살구, 흙을 파먹어두 같이 파 먹지. (Yu C. 1971b: 348) Even if we can’t live in our own house, we can still live in the same village. Even if we have to dig the dirt, we should do it together” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 32). They are afraid of leaving their hometown and have no courage to overcome the problems of their daily life.

However, the second generation differs from them. They know the reality of situations clearly, as Samjo’s words show. When Kumnyo’s father tells Samjo to tell his son Myongsu “남의 밥 그만 벌어먹구 인젠 그만 나오래라. (Yu C. 1971b: 348) to come home now, and quit working for other people” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 32), Samjo says, “명수가 나오문 뭘 시킬려구 그러슈? 이 고장에서 살아나갈 방도가 있겠슈? (Yu C. 1971b: 348) What is Myongsu going to do here? How is he going to make a living in a village like this?” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 32). Thus, as a way to overcome their current difficult situation, Myongsu left for Japan to make money and Myongsu’s friend Samjo is also going to leave the hometown for Japan to get a job. Even if they “won’t know [their] future until it happens” (ibid.: 32), and more painful situations are ahead of them, they cannot stay home and starve.

However, the first generation has no understanding of the younger generation. The district supervisor’s following words represent the first generation’s understanding of the second generation:

외지에 갔다 온 놈들의 행사만 봐두 알 일 아녀? 쥐뿔두 없는
놈들이 괜히 오금에 신물만 들어서 제 집 구석에선 넌장 나무

겹질 뜯어먹는다 풀뿌릴 파먹는다는 난리 판에 착실히 일할
줄은 모르고 때를 지어 쪼다니면서 사람은 먹어야 산다! 이렇게
떠들어대지 않던가? (Yu C. 1971b: 354)

Look at the things that they do, those young ones overseas. They've got
nothing under their belts, nothing, not so much as a rat's ass. But they get
soaked with foreign influence, top to bottom. At home their families can
barely feed themselves. ... But instead of working diligently like they're
supposed to, they raise their voices to claim, "Men must eat to live!" They
run around like wild horses. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 40)

Therefore, it is no wonder that Kumnyo's parents do not understand what their
son did in Japan:

구장: 그래, 그 철 없는 명수란 자가 노가다패에서 몇몇 동무
늪들허구 남 몰래 해방 운동인가 뭘 했다가...

명서처: 해방이라니 그 무슨 말이유?

명서: 오오, 남의 일허는 데 훼방을 놀았던 말이겠지, 그렇쥬. (Yu
C. 1971b: 353)

SUPERVISOR. Myongsu, the childish one, staged an independence
movement with a few fellows in the quarry.

WIFE [Kumnyo's mother]. What do you mean by independence
movement?

HUSBAND [Kumnyo's father]. Oh, you mean, he interfered with
someone else's work? (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 39)

The Korean pronunciation of "independence" is "*haebang*," and is a homonym

of the word “*hwebang* (interference)”. Kumnyo’s father rushes to conclude his son’s action was a trifling discordance at work rather than a patriotic action by a nationalist (Kim Jinhee 2004: 176). The first generation cannot even imagine that their children are doing patriotic work in Japan. The first generation’s lack of understanding of their children is similar to that of Captain Boyle. Boyle also shows his ignorance and lack of understanding of his daughter. He thinks that the books his daughter Mary reads are nothing but trash: “Aw, one o’ Mary’s; she’s always readin’ lately – nothin’ but thrash, too. There’s one I was lookin’ at dh’other day: three stories, *The Doll’s House*, *Ghosts*, an’ *The Wild Duck* – buks only fit for chiselurs!” (O’Casey 1998: 85).

After all, it is the burden of the second generation that they should overcome current difficulties and lead the ignorant and helpless first generation to a brighter future, as Kumnyo’s above request to Sundol suggests: they should raise the lantern up high and carry it with pride, and with these gestures, a new life will begin. Yu’s appropriation of Juno in creating Kumnyo has this meaning. Therefore, we can say that the play ends with Kumnyo’s words and it is Kumnyo’s play. Although Myongso’s words follow Kumnyo’s line, they have no power and just disappear in a meaningless echo.

Kyongson, another character in *The Shack*, shows similar characteristics to those of Captain Jack Boyle and plays a similar role. Together with Juno, Captain Boyle is the main figure in *Juno*. His mock-heroic condition contrasted with Juno’s heroic condition produces the comic element in the play. As Krause puts it, Juno and the Captain “represent the tragi-comic cycle of O’Casey’s world; together they reveal the ironic cross-purposes of life” (1975: 79).

The reason Yu Chi-jin created a comic figure like Boyle in his play was related to his theatrical purpose. Yu tried to use theatre as a means to educate people and it was necessary to appeal to people to achieve this purpose. Yu thought a comic or

farcical element was one of the elements with which the theatre could gain popularity. As mentioned previously, Yu thought that modern theatre's rejection of farce was because theatregoers considered it vulgar. According to him (1935b), O'Casey sought to revive a long-neglected farce tradition, especially in *Juno*, in order to attract the alienated masses. Yu also tried to adopt the farcical or comic element in his plays, as O'Casey did. The other reason Yu showed a great interest in the farcical or comic element was related to his aesthetic and political purpose. He thought the laughter among tears could enhance the pathos, and tried to make the Korean people feel the pathos through his plays so that they could reflect on their realities under colonialism. According to his view, O'Casey's plays were good examples of drama that evoked pathos by properly mixing laughter and tears. Yu (1932c) cites as an example the scene in *Juno* in which Jerry brings Captain Boyle a message that will get him a job and Captain Boyle, on hearing the message, immediately pretends to have a twinge in his leg. Yu said if people knew that Boyle's attitude is a gut reaction of the lower classes in the specific society of Ireland, they could not just laugh. This interpretation of Boyle's attitude seems to be Yu's appropriation to present the Irish people as suffering under colonialism. What he wanted to depict in his plays was the lower classes in colonial Korea and needed a model from O'Casey's works.

According to Yu, O'Casey's plays made the audience feel pathos by inducing tears through laughter. It is true O'Casey tried to "penetrate the dilemma of suffering mankind with the compassionate shock of rich laughter" (Krause 1975: 56). As Krause pointed out, "O'Casey's world is chaotic and tragic but his vision of it is ironically comic. It is in this war-torn world of horrors and potential tragedy that he finds the rowdy humour which paradoxically satirizes and sustains his earthy characters" (1975: 71).

Yu also tried to create strong pathos by punctuating the suffering of the Korean people with laughter and ultimately intended to motivate the Korean people to look at themselves and their position. For this purpose, in creating his comic characters, he sometimes tried to appropriate O'Casey's characters. In his essay, he cited the comic characters whom he created under the influence of O'Casey's plays. He (1935b) said that Kyongson in *The Shack*, Seongchil in *The Scene*, and Malttongi, Munjin, and Usam in *The Ox* are variations of O'Casey's characters.

Actually, Kyongson resembles Captain Boyle in many respects. Kyongson has a runny nose all the time, and that's how he earned his nickname "*ppangbo* (booger)". Like Boyle, he is a braggart who spends his days carousing and who is not able to support his family. As his wife says, "동네 방내 쏘다니면서 술이나 쳐먹구 엄병땡한 소리나 허라문 잘했지, 남의 앞에 나서라문 그만 주먹 맞은 감투가 돼 버린단 말여. (Yu C. 1971b: 351) He hops from bar to bar on a drinking binge and talks nonsense all day. That's all he's good for" (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 36).

His empty boasting and mock majesty also bear a similarity to Boyle's. Boyle is a figure who shows bluff and exaggeration that can be typically found in the stage Irishman. According to his wife, he was "only wanst on the wather, in an oul collier from here to Liverpool" and he pretends to be a seaman and likes to be called Captain (O'Casey 1998: 77). In fact, "a row on a river ud make him sea-sick!" (ibid.: 96). This bluffness also can be seen in his attitude toward his wife. As we can see in Joxer's remark "It's a good job she has to be so often away, for when the cat's away, the mice can play!" (ibid.: 74), Boyle is like a mouse before a cat when his wife is around; however, he blusters when she is not around. When, knowing that Boyle's wife Juno does not like their mingling, Joxer says, "That's afther puttin' the heart across me – I could ha' sworn it was Juno. I'd better be goin', Captain; you couldn't

tell the minute Juno'd hop in on us," Boyle makes a show of power:

Let her hop in; we may as well have it out first as at last. I've made up me mind – I'm not goin' to do only what she damn well likes ... Today, Joxer, there's goin' to be issued a proclamation be me, establishin' an independent Republic, an' Juno'll have to take an oath of allegiance.

(O'Casey 1998: 89-90)

As soon as Juno appears, however, his words prove to be just an empty threat and this arouses laughter. This aspect of the blustering Boyle is also seen in Kyongson. Yu Chi-jin borrows the image of a cat and mouse straight from O'Casey to describe Kyongson. Everybody around him knows that he is henpecked by his wife and he can fool nobody into believing that he keeps his wife under his thumb: “팽이 앞에 쥐 (Yu C. 1971b: 349) He's a mouse in front of a cat” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 34) and he is “like a chicken imagining himself flying when all he's doing is flapping his wings” (ibid.: 34-35). However, when his wife is not around, he brags:

그 모르는 소리유. 내가 눈을 부릅뜨구, 한 번 이년! 허문
끔짝달짝 못허구 파리 손을 살살 부비지. 허지만 양반의
체면으로 내가 어찌 그럴 수야 있나. (Yu C. 1971b: 349-50)

You don't know a thing. If I were to roll my eyes and let out a yell at her, her body would start trembling and she'd beg for forgiveness. But as a gentleman, how can I do that to my own wife? (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 34)

This bluff is turned into comedy by his wife's appearance.

Just as Boyle shows an indifferent and irresponsible attitude toward his neighbours and his family, Kyongson shows a similar behaviour. When Mrs Tancred's only son is killed, Mrs. Boyle says:

Hasn't the whole house, nearly, been massacred? There's young Dougherty's husband with his leg off; Mrs Travers that had her son blew up be a mine in Inchegeela, in Co. Cork; Mrs Mannin' that lost wan of her sons in ambush a few weeks ago, an' now, poor Mrs Tancred's only child gone west with his body made a collander of. Sure, if it's not our business, I don't know whose business it is. (O'Casey 1998: 177)

Boyle's response is heartless:

Here, there, that's enough about them things; they don't affect us, an' we needn't give a damn. If they want a wake, well, let them have a wake. When I was a sailor, I was always resigned to meet with a wathery grave; an' if they want to be soldiers, well, there's no use o' them squealin' when they meet a soldier's fate. (ibid.: 177)

Boyle is pitiless even to his family. When Mary is found to have been seduced and betrayed by an Englishman he thinks of his own face only. He refuses to share the burden and prefers to abandon his daughter:

I'm goin' out now to have a few dhrinks with th' last few makes I have, an' tell that lassie o' yours not to be here when I come back; for if I lay me

eyes on her, I'll lay me hands on her, and if I lay my hands on her, I won't be accountable for my actions! (ibid.: 137)

Kyongson is not unlike Boyle in this. He borrowed a few bags of rice to make a living and his house was foreclosed. With this foreclosure, his family will be forced out of their house, but even in this situation, he brags and says it “as if it were someone else's misfortune”:

우리 집 걸은 걸랑 제 멋대로 떠 가지구 가래. 난 사내답게 다 내줄 테야. 내가 그까짓 걸 두구 떨어? 그런 걸 가지구 울었다문난 말라서 벌써 북어 신세가 됐을 걸. (Yu C. 1971b: 351)

Tell them to take it all. I will yield to like a man. Am I afraid of things of that sort? If my constitution had been weak enough to shed tears over such a small matter, I would have already shrivelled up into a dried cod. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 36-37)

Kyongson then leaves his family, who have to beg for a living. One year later, when he comes back, he says that he was so furious that he just had to take off; however, to his family, it was not “a small matter” but “a matter of life and death”, as Myongso says:

자네두 못났지. 그때야말로 집행인가 뭔가를 만나서, 죽는다 산다는 살얼음판에, 그래 처잘 버리구 종적을 감춰 버렸다가 인제야 다람쥐 모양으로 코빼기만 살짝 내민담. (Yu C. 1971b: 361)

You fool. Even if your house was taken away, how could you disappear like that, leaving your wife and children behind? It was a matter of life and

death, and everyone was walking on ice. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 49)

It can be said that the bluff and irresponsible attitudes of Boyle and Kyongson stem from their perception of the world. To Boyle the world is in a terrible state of chaos (O'Casey 1998: 148). According to Kyongson “뭐가 뭔지 뒤죽박죽이다! ... 점점 가경으로 몰아치는구나 (Yu C. 1971b: 351) Everything is turned upside down, inside out! ... The world is going mad” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 37). In this world, there is nothing they can do. Therefore, they have disrespect for the truth. As Krause points out, Boyle's “disrespect for the truth stems not only from an instinctive love of licence, but from an empirical conviction that a virtuous life invariably leads to dullness and an heroic life often leads to death” (1975: 76). Kyongson's disrespect for the truth stems not only from an instinctive love of licence, but also from an empirical conviction that reality leads only to despair:

이왕 그렇게 돼서 방금 경매했다는 마당에 내가 나서문 뭘해?
속만 상하지. ... 우리 헬 가져가는 게 뭐 이번이 처음이구, 또
마지막인가, 어디? (Yu C. 1971b: 350-51)

What good is it even if I do something at this point? Things have already gone their way, and the auction is about to begin. Watching the whole thing would only hurt my feelings. ... It's not the first time they have taken what is ours and it won't be the last, either. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 36)

Therefore, they bury their heads in the sand and turn everything into a joke. They “insulate themselves from the world of terrible realities by living in an illusory world of drunken bravado” (Krause 1975: 78). Humour in this shattered world

becomes a means of survival, as Krause pointed out:

O'Casey would have it [comic spirit] so precisely because the humour in his plays reveals a native vigour and shrewdness in his characters which ironically becomes a means of survival in a shattered world. It is this attitude which keeps his plays from becoming melancholy or pessimistic. His humour saves him and his characters from despair. (ibid.: 72)

This remark can be applied also to Kyongson. Therefore, he shows his sense of humour even in the moment when he is forced to leave his home country with his family for an uncertain future.

However, there is a difference between Boyle and Kyongson. While Boyle remains a comic figure to the end, Kyongson turns into a tragic figure. Boyle will be “gallivanting about all the day like a paycock” and will be “hopeless till the end of his days” (O’Casey 1998: 77, 145):

As Juno and Mary leave to start a new life, the Captain and Joxer stagger drunkenly into the barren room, roaring patriotic slogans as they collapse in a state of semi-coherent bravado. It is a final scene of horrible humour. The Captain remains the ‘struttin’ paycock’ in his glorious deterioration. (Krause 1975: 79)

In contrast, Kyongson, after he leaves his house, wanders about from place to place peddling and, when he comes back, has become a different person from what he used to be. He is now able and willing to see his own image and decides to leave his hometown with his family:

경선처: 하론들 더 있으문 뭘 험니까?

경선: 암, 창피만 더할 뿐이지.

명서: 자네두 창피스런 줄 알았으니, 장관일쎄그려. (Yu C.

1971b: 362)

BOOGER'S WIFE [Kyongson's wife]. (*while packing*) What's the use of staying here any longer?

BOOGER [Kyongson]. That would only add to our shame.

HUSBAND [Kumnyo's father]. (*laughs heartily*) If you know your own shame, then you've turned yourself into a philosopher. (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 49)

Kyongson says, “제 고장이란 밥술이나 얻어 먹을 땐 따뜻한 양지쪽이지만, 우리같이 잠자리조차 걱정하게 되구 보면 외려 감옥이데. (Yu C. 1971b: 362) This village was a comfort when we had a roof over our heads. But now we have to worry about where to spend each night, it feels like a prison” (Yu C./ Kim Jinhee 2004: 50). With this clear view of his world, he becomes a tragic figure. As Krause stated, “The tragic figure becomes truly tragic when he is able to see his own image; the comic figure becomes absurdly comic when he is unable, or pretends to be unable, to see his own image” (1975: 76). Thus, Kyongson's laughter can no longer be just simple laughter; it becomes bitter laughter:

경선: 어딜 가두 웃고 지내지. 누가 술을 받아 놓구 제발 울어 달래두 난 안 울어 주네. 암 막무가내지. 정말일쎄.

.....

경선: 저걸 만났을 때 젓맥이를 등에 차구, 바가지를 들구

다니는 그 꼬락서니란 과연 가슴에서 이런 돌덩어리가
 목구멍까지 치밀데. 그래두 난 참았어. 이를 악물구 참았지.
 명서: 알겠네. 자네 웃음이 얼마나 쓴 줄을. (Yu C. 1971b: 363)

BOOGER. Wherever I go, I have good laughs. To see me cry, someone
 has to pay me. I won't cry any more. That's the truth.

.....

BOOGER. ... Earlier I saw my wife, baby on her back, carrying a gourd
 bowl in her hand. That sight was so pitiful that I felt my stomach
 churning. But I kept it under control. I kept it under control, with all my
 might.

HUSBAND. I know, bitter is the word to describe your laughter.
 (Yu C./Kim Jinhee 2004: 51-52)

Unlike Boyle, he shares the burden of realities by leaving with his family. We can say that the reason Yu Chi-jin turned Kyongson into a tragic figure is related to his theatrical purpose. He tried to depict the fatalism of Korean people under colonialism in his plays with a realistic touch (Yu C. 1935f). In accordance with his definition of realism, plays should deal with facts so that they look probable (Yu C. 1993b: 59). Kyongson's leaving with his family rather than remaining a comic figure might have been more probable in his view because it was a common sight that Korean rural people who suffered loss of their home and land under colonialism left their hometown. As the English literary scholar Yoh Suk-kee pointed out, the fatalism became a barrier for him to unfold his exuberant imagination to create a comic figure like Boyle (1974: 12). However, the tragic-comic figure Kyongson could also be the result of the consideration of the audience at that time.

In relation to performances of *Juno and the Paycock*, Roger McHugh stated in

his essay in 1965:

There are few more masterly touches in O'Casey's dramatic writing than that by which Juno, in her moment of terrible suffering at Johnny's death and her daughter's plight, repeats this prayer, and so becomes by extension Mrs. Tancred and all bereaved mothers, including the Blessed Mother. ... we may thus be reasonably sure that in O'Casey's conception of the play the tragic element dominated or at least equalled the comic. But in seeing various performances over the years, both inside and outside Ireland, it is quite noticeable that the reverse is what happens and that audiences come away remembering the *Paycock's* comic aspect. (1975: 41-42)

This remark could have been pertinent to the Korean audience at that time. Although laughter and humour were the elements that commonly could be found in traditional Korean drama, modern drama was a new style of genre to the Korean audience at that time. Furthermore, the tragic-comic genre was a totally new one. Although *sinpa* theatre was enjoyed as a form of modern theatre by the Korean audience, it was mostly tragedy. So the Korean audience was used to seeing tragedy. The Korean audience might have come away remembering Kyongson's comic aspect with Kyongson remaining a comic figure to the end. However, with Kyongson remaining a tragic figure, the Korean audience could have more sympathised with him and reflected on their situations under colonialism, which was the theme of the play the author intended. Yu probably considered this point and concluded that he had to turn Kyongson into a tragic figure.

Interestingly, the film based on O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* produced by Alfred Hitchcock in 1930 focuses on the tragic element of the play by ending with

Juno's line (Hitchcock 1930/2000). Although Yu Chi-jin was influenced by O'Casey, we can say that he appropriated O'Casey's characters to suit the Korean situation at that time.

4.2.2.3. Offstage Dramatic Effect

One of the dramatic techniques of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy Yu Chi-jin recognised and tried to adopt in his plays was what he called the "*mudaeri ui hyogwa* (offstage dramatic effect)". According to Yu, the offstage dramatic effect involves concentrating the tension of the play offstage, constantly making the audience conscious of those events that are taking place off the stage (1993b: 124). Yu said that O'Casey used this dramatic effect to deliver his message effectively. Set in the Dublin slum tenements during the period of "the Troubles", the plays of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy "are bound together by war, its violence and tragic disruptiveness", but war is not seen on the stage (Murray 1998: xiii). As a direct action, as Williams points out, war is on the streets, and "the people crowded in the houses react to it, in essential ways, as if it were an action beyond and outside them" (1975: 53). However, it is the offstage war that creates tension on the stage, constantly seizes the attention of the audience, and ultimately changes the life of the dwellers of the tenements. According to Yu, O'Casey succeeded in revealing the brutality of war merely by describing the responses of the characters to the wars off the stage without directly dealing with the wars on the stage (1993b: 124).

The first play of the trilogy *The Shadow of a Gunman* is set in 1920, during the Black-and-Tan War. The focus of this play is not the love story of Davoren and Minnie, but the terror and fear offstage that affect the fate of characters, as Yu Chi-jin rightly pointed out (1993b: 124). O'Casey effectively created tension on the stage by the various sounds offstage – orders, the tramping of heavy feet, Minnie's

shouting voice, and shooting, and delivered the terror and fear of the war by keeping the attention of the audience (Yu C. 1993b: 124).

Juno and the Paycock is also set in the period of “the Troubles”. The civil war that broke out in 1922 forms the background to the play and, as Murray points out, “[t]he invasion of the tenements by the civil war is a far more insidious invasion of the private by the public than the raid by the British army in *The Shadow of a Gunman*, for now the enemy is within” (1998: xii). However, what the play shows is the daily life of the Boyle family and their neighbours, which seems to have nothing to do with the civil war. As Raymond Williams put it, “the dominant action is the talk of Boyle and Joxer: idle talk, with a continual play at importance: the false colours of poverty, which has gone beyond being faced and which is now the endless, stumbling, engaging spin of fantasy” (1975: 54). However, looking into their life, we can see “how deeply into the daily lives of the people the bloodshed has seeped” (Murray 1998: xii). The war is their business as Juno articulates in Act II: actually, nearly the entire household has been massacred, but the war is not dealt with on the stage. The audience can feel the war only through Johnny, who lost his arm in the Irish War of Independence, and through the conversations among the characters.

The offstage dramatic effect is most prominent in *The Plough and the Stars*, the play of the Easter Rising and of the Citizen Army. Yu Chi-jin stated that this play was most successful with the offstage dramatic effect:

제 1막에서 창밖으로 보이는 ... 창백한 가솔린 광선, 해머 소리, 혹은 궁행(躬行)하여 가는 x 대의 티페라리의 노래 소리, 제 2막에서는 주점 밖에서 부르짖는 아이들의 연설, 그에 따른 절규, 제 3막에는 약탈 소동으로 오는 불안, 거리의 시끄러움, 제 4막에서는 유리창을 물들이는 화염 등등이 그것이다. (1993b: 125)

The offstage dramatic effect is produced by the flaring of the flame of a gasoline lamp seen outside the window, the clang of crowbars striking the sets, the voices of the soldiers singing ‘It’s a long way to Tipperary’ in Act I; the sound of speeches outside the public-house and cries in Act II; looting and noises on the streets in Act III and rifle and machine-gun fire that paints the sky a fuller and deeper red.

With these dramatic devices, the audience recognises that “war is the catalytic agent which sets them [the people on the stage] in motion and reveals their values: idealism, unselfishness, the family, security, loot” (McHugh 1975: 43). According to Yu Chi-jin, although O’Casey dealt with political concerns, he avoided being accused of writing an ideological agit-prop by using the offstage dramatic technique:

손 오케이시의 작품은 정치성을 배경으로 하여 그 간에 움직이는 빈민생활의 참담한 처지를 취제하였다. 그러나 이 작가는 그의 작품으로서 하나의 이데올로기를 아지 프로하려고 조급하지는 않았다. 그러기 전에 그는 이중 삼중으로 지(地)의 하층계급에서는 얼마나 많은 곤궁과 무지와 환멸과 희원이 있는가를 있는 그대로 시례(示例)하려 하였다. 그 시례는 모두 일상생활의 평범한 사건에서 인거(引擧)하였는데... (Yu C. 1993b: 125)

Sean O’Casey’s plays dealt with the politically derived sufferings and tragedies of slum dwellers. However, O’Casey was prepared to use slower, indirect means rather than propaganda in his plays to further his political aims. Thus, he tried to portray objectively the poverty, ignorance, disillusion, and desire of the lower classes who suffered in the turmoil. He

made the characters show the true picture of themselves by situating them in ordinary daily life.

It is true that keeping key events offstage makes you have a more objective view. When you keep distance from an event, you can see the whole picture of the event and judge it objectively. O'Casey delivered his message by presenting the facts objectively rather than by preaching with the use of the offstage technique. Yu thought this dramatic technique would be effective for his theatrical purpose, that is to say, to reveal the problems of colonialism. Set in Korean farming villages during the period of 1920s and 1930s, his peasant trilogy deals with the rural dwellers who suffer the loss of their land, house or children, or even their mind. However, the destructive external force that causes such loss does not appear on the stage. Yu tried to reveal the brutality of the colonisers only by presenting objectively these tragic events that rural dwellers experienced in their daily life.

The first play of his trilogy *The Shack* depicts the ordinary daily life of two peasant families whose lives are destroyed by events offstage: the death of an independence activist and the seizure of property. Although these two events do not appear on the stage, they control the fates of the characters. With the death of Myongsu, Myongso's family lose their only hope and his wife goes mad. With the seizure of their property, Kyongson's family lose their home and are forced to leave their home town to become wandering labourers. Although it is not made explicit, it is clear the colonisers are behind these tragic events. The death of Myongsu is related to the colonisers and the seizure of Kyongson's property is due to the agricultural policy of the colonisers. As discussed in section 4.2.2.1, the ruin of Korean rural villages was due to the colonisers' policies. Yu wanted to deliver this message by making the audience look at their realities on the stage.

The offstage dramatic devices that allude to colonisers or colonisers' policies are not seen even offstage in the two plays following *The Shack*. Instead, the devices that contrast with the events on stage are employed, heightening the tragedy on the stage. *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* depicts the cruel life beneath the surface of poverty that rural villagers had to suffer due to the colonisers' policies. This play tells the story of Kyesun's and Deokjo's family who live in the same village, focusing on the responses of the villagers to the two situations related to Kyesun and Deokjo. Kyesun is forced to be sold to a brothel to help make a living for her family and Deokjo is missing after he went to gather arrowroot for food. The young girls in the village who do not know the truth envy Kyesun her good luck in going to Seoul while the adults are much grieved about it and the villagers are extremely anxious that Deokjo may have fallen over a precipice. In the end, Kyesun is sold to Seoul and it transpires that Deokjo had indeed fallen over a cliff. The external force that controls the life of the villagers, causing these tragic events, is not seen on the stage. It exists unseen offstage. These tragic events are due to the poverty the villagers are experiencing and which is the product of colonial policies.

The tragedy of the rural villagers in *The Scene* is the product of colonial policies, but Yu merely describes the daily life of the villagers and never describes colonial policies on the stage. He just communicates the message of his play by vividly depicting the situations the Korean people are situated in under colonialism. Without explicit onstage description of colonial policies, the Korean audience can get his message across because they can easily link the situations on the stage to colonial policies: the story is about them.

The Ox also adopts similar dramatic devices. This play deals with the conflicts between tenants and landowners, focusing on the story of tenant farmer Kukso's family. The whole village is in a festive mood, with a bountiful harvest at long last,

and Kukso's house is no exception. However, the estate agent appears and dashes the optimism. The agent asks Kukso to pay all the overdue farm rent that Kukso's family owe due to the many consecutive years of famine, but if Kukso pays that off, not a single grain will be left for his family. The estate agent finally sells the ox owned by Kukso's family in lieu of the overdue rent and the hopes and dreams that each member of the family had with the ox are shattered: Kukso loses something that he values even more than the members of his family, Malttong'i loses his only chance to get married and Kaettong'i loses his dream to go to Manchuria to make money.

In depicting this tragedy, Yu Chi-jin adopts offstage dramatic devices that contrast with the tragic development on the stage. The sound of rice-threshing, the voice of farmers singing a good harvest and the sound of a folk band celebrating a good harvest are heard from offstage throughout the whole play. These dramatic devices are effectively used to achieve the tragic effect. However, as in the previous play, the external force that causes this tragedy is not seen on the stage and the landowner, who can be interpreted as the symbol of the Japanese colonisers, is present only offstage.

Modelling his dramatic work on O'Casey's plays, Yu achieved his political and aesthetic purpose: by depicting the realities of Korean farming villages under colonialism objectively without dealing with the colonisers on the stage, he succeeded not only in making the Korean people aware of their realities, but also in avoiding the risk of his plays becoming propaganda drama, as Kim In-pyo also pointed out (1998: 172). However, most importantly, we can say that this dramatic technique might have been the most effective way to avoid the colonisers' censorship. Given the strict censorship of the theatre under colonialism, it would have been impossible to describe the colonisers as the exploiters of the Korean people on stage. Yu might have been well aware of this fact as a theatre practitioner

and as a dramatist, and adopted this dramatic technique after careful consideration.

4.3. Conclusion

Yu Chi-jin adopted the settings, characters and dramatic techniques from O'Casey's plays and appropriated them in creating his own plays. Although Yu (1935b) said that he felt as if he were copying or imitating Sean O'Casey's plays, the following remarks showed that his plays were basically 'born in his soil':

우리집 한약방을 찾아오는 병들고 초췌한 농어민들을 통해서 나는 통영에 많이 살고 있었던 지주를 대단히 미워한 것이다. 이러한 미움은 곧 가난하고 고통받는 사람들에게 대한 연민으로 나타났다. ... 내 처녀작 「토막」도 그래서 탄생된 것이었다. ... 순박하고 착하지만 무력해서 빼앗기고 패배하고 절망하는 고향의 농민들의 극한적 삶을 묘사해 보자고 마음먹었다. 그래서 탄생된 것이 두번째 작품 「버드나무 선 동리의 풍경」이었다.

(Yu C. 1993c: 107-15)

I hated landlords when I saw the ill and haggard farmers and fishermen who came to visit my father's dispensary of Oriental medicine. This hatred developed into sympathy with poor and suffering people. I wanted to depict the deprived and repressed people with warm sympathy. ... Thus, my first play *The Shack* came into being. ... I wanted to describe my village people whom I saw as young – the severe life that honest and innocent, but powerless, deprived and hopeless people had to lead. Thus my second play *The Scene from the Willow Tree Village* was created.

This remark shows that, first of all, his social origin and environment had a

major influence on his creative life. Although he was influenced by O'Casey, his plays were not just imitations of O'Casey's plays, but the product of his creative use of O'Casey's plays to serve his view of the theatre. Both O'Casey and Yu Chi-jin sought the power to bring about a revolution in society through each of their trilogies, but in a different sense. Although both of their plays were created under colonialism and depicted destitute and suffering people, O'Casey's trilogy aimed to convey the message that wars for a great cause or independence are meaningless if they result in innocent victims by depicting families and communities destroyed by political violence. As Seumas Shields cynically commented in *The Shadow*, "It's the civilians that suffer; when there's an ambush they don't know where to run. Shot in the back to save the British Empire, an' shot in the breast to save the soul of Ireland" (O'Casey 1985: 28). Mollser, a consumptive child, in *The Plough*, asks "Is there anybody, Mrs Clitheroe, with a titther o'sense?" (O'Casey 1998: 180) This can be considered the question that O'Casey is asking the world. According to O'Casey, the lives of people are of the utmost importance and should be put before any great cause. This does not mean that he did not love his country: As Krause says, "Only a man who loved his country so deeply could have hated so fiercely the conditions under which his countrymen lived. His life and his work represented a rebellion against human suffering, and exile was the heart-breaking price he had to pay for that rebellion" (1975: 45). His Dublin trilogy did not focus on criticising British colonialism, but on depicting the tragedy of Dublin tenement denizens who were involved in the independence war (Kim I. 1998: 172).

In contrast, Yu Chi-jin's interest was to reveal the harsh colonial policies by depicting the tragedies of Korean farming communities. He tried to awaken the Korean people by staging the realities of Korean farmers under colonialism. For this purpose, he adopted and appropriated the materials and dramatic techniques of

O'Casey's drama. While O'Casey was self-consciously concerned with the representation of Ireland as his main subject to convey the message of pacifism, Yu was self-consciously concerned with the representation of the Korean people under colonialism to convey the message of anti-colonialism. Yu created his own literary world based on O'Casey's plays and with his trilogy he succeeded in opening a new field of realist peasant drama in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem and in forming a resistance theatre during the colonial period. O'Casey's plays were the source of his inspiration and imagination. In this sense, it can be said that O'Casey's plays assumed a role of innovation and resistance in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem.

Conclusion

This investigation into how foreign texts were appropriated to enrich Korea's young dramatic polysystem has revealed their dual function as literary enrichment and as a political focus for colonial resistance. In addition, the example of Sean O'Casey's plays demonstrated how an author on the periphery of the host culture's translated literary repertoire can not only play a central role in creating a new genre but with the help of the host translator, initiate a new discourse of resistance.

Even when there was no contact between Korea and Ireland during colonial rule in Korea, Irish drama, including Sean O'Casey's plays, was imported and appropriated by Korean intellectuals. As Hermans says that the practices encountered in one domain of culture can be related to the practices that make up culture as a whole (1996: 47), the process of importation and appropriation showed the correlations the "young" modern Korean dramatic polysystem maintained not only with the co-systems of Korean culture, but also with the polysystems of the other community, the colonisers. The involvement of the polysystems of the two communities, the colonisers and the colonised, which had totally different interests and aims, made the process more circuitous: Rather than O'Casey's plays being directly used to enrich the Korean dramatic polysystem and simultaneously to facilitate resistance in Korean theatre, such purposes were achieved through appropriations of the plays in the creation of original Korean plays.

The most prominent aspect witnessed in the process was the struggles between ideological systems of the two communities to gain an ascendancy over Korean theatre: Korean nationalists to recover their national independence and the colonisers' ideology of dominion as seen in the strategy to 'Japanise' Korean culture based on the doctrines of racial superiority and civilisation and enlightenment, which

purported to explain the unfitness of backward peoples for self-government (Lee N. 2004: 99-100). The characteristics of the theatre that meant it could have direct contact with the masses, in particular, made it the site of ideological struggles between the colonisers and the colonised: while the Japanese colonisers tried to use the theatre as a tool to spread their values to make it easier to dominate the Korean people, Korean nationalists tried to use it as a means of resistance against the colonisers.

When colonialism began in Korea in 1910, no modern form of the theatre had yet developed and traditional Korean theatre maintained the central position in the Korean dramatic polysystem. After colonisation, the colonisers began to interfere with Korean theatre. The Japanese colonial government encouraged and transplanted their *sinpa* theatre while suppressing traditional Korean theatre in order to stamp out traditional Korean culture. As a result of this colonial policy together with some Korean theatre practitioners who wanted to modernise Korean theatre with *sinpa*, Japanese *sinpa* theatre became the mainstream drama in modern Korean theatre during the second decade of the twentieth century, seizing the central position that traditional Korean theatre had occupied, while relegating traditional theatre to the periphery of the Korean dramatic polysystem. According to Russian Formalists, literary evolution consists in the “constant urge to replace the familiar with the unfamiliar, the traditional with the innovative” (Hermans 1999: 104), or, in Tynjanov’s terms, “the mutation of systems” (Tynjanov 1929/1971: 67). With the transplantation of *sinpa*, Korean theatre experienced the replacing of the familiar traditional theatre with the unfamiliar *sinpa* and “the mutation of systems”, but no theatre evolution occurred in that, according to Korean drama historians, *sinpa* did not contribute to enrich the modern Korean dramatic polysystem.

According to Russian Formalists’ and Tynjanov’ systems theory, literary

evolution is the result of the vying for position between familiar and unfamiliar devices (Hermans 1999: 104). In the case of Korean theatre, this vying for position occurred not voluntarily, but as a result of cultural interference from the Japanese colonisers. It may mean that the replacement of the familiar with the unfamiliar or “the mutation of systems” may not necessarily lead to literary evolution when there is interference from an external literary polysystem, although the opposite phenomenon also occurred in Korean theatre: theatre evolution occurred during the 1920s and 1930s when the Korean ideological polysystem interfered with the Korean dramatic polysystem, with the centre, that is, national theatre, changing place with the peripheral, that is, translated theatre. What these opposite cases suggest is that the vying for position may or may not result in literary evolution depending on who interferes with the process of the vying for position and with what intention. The intention of the colonisers’ interference with the vying for position in Korean theatre was to interrupt the development of national Korean theatre while that of the interference of the colonised Koreans had the opposite aim; therefore, it was natural that the interference of those two communities resulted in different outcomes.

Sinpa theatre’s dominant position was subverted as Korean cultural nationalism was launched following the March First Independence Movement. As, after the Independence Movement, the Japanese colonial government adopted an appeasement policy, and some cultural activities that had been prohibited in colonial Korea became possible, cultural nationalism as an alternative to political struggle emerged. Korean nationalists and intellectuals initiated various cultural activities to modernise and strengthen Korean society, which, they hoped, would go on to be the foundation for later political independence. The modern Korean theatre movement that was launched by Korean intellectuals formed a part of these cultural activities. Korean cultural nationalism provides the context in which the political goals of Irish

drama and Sean O'Casey's plays were adopted by Korean intellectuals, who, forming the cadres of the modern Korean theatre movement, transformed the goals into an anti-colonial movement. The leaders of the theatre movement considered the theatre as an effective tool to enlighten the Korean people. They wanted to stage the realities of the Korean people under colonialism to rouse the Korean people.

However, as the modern Korean dramatic polysystem was still "young," there was no dramatic repertoire that could be used to serve their purposes. As Even-Zohar observes, the need for a culture repertoire is made and adopted by people, that is the members of the group (1997b: 357), and so the need for a modern dramatic repertoire was made by Korean intellectuals, and foreign drama was adopted during the repertoire making. However, the process of repertoire making was affected by the colonisers' interference: Accordingly, the final translated repertoire was the product of interference of the nationalism that constituted a central system of the Korean ideological polysystem and the censorship that constituted a central system of the colonisers' political polysystem.

Given that "translatorship amounts first and foremost to being able to play a social role, i.e. to fulfil a function allotted by a community" (Toury 1995: 53), it is not surprising that translation activities by colonised Koreans were related to their nationalistic purpose. First, the nationalistic orientation of Korean theatre played a vital role in defining the pattern of imported foreign drama. Korean intellectuals and theatre practitioners thought that realist drama could fit their purposes of establishing their modern national theatre and arousing the Korean people. Many realist foreign dramas were imported as a means of resistance to colonial power and as a means of innovation in modern Korean theatre under colonialism. Although, from the Japanese point of view, the purpose of translation was to root out Korean traditional culture and replace it with something foreign, Korean people tried to use translation in the

struggle for independence and as a tool of cultural resistance to subvert the colonisers' *sinpa* theatre.

The Koreans attempted to select works sympathetic to the aim of resisting imposed rule as the Irish had resisted the English. Even-Zohar observes that the principles of selection of translated works never are uncorrelatable with the home co-systems of the target literature (2004: 199), but the selection of the Abbey playwrights in colonial Korea was related more to the co-systems of the Korean ideological polysystem than to the co-systems of Korean literature. Venuti argues that ideological manipulation occurs from the very choice of a foreign text to translate (1998: 67); thus, the Koreans imported Irish playwrights not so much because of their literary or artistic talents as because they fitted a political and colonial niche. The Korean intellectuals were interested in Irish drama as a product of colonialism, as a tool for political struggle. They paid attention to the fact that the Abbey Theatre was the patriotic Irish national theatre and appropriated the Irish dramatic movement for their own political purposes. Above all, the Irish dramatic movement was considered a patriotic and nationalistic movement that led to the emergence of the Irish Free State in 1922. This fact was very important to Korean intellectuals because the cultural movement was the only way to present any resistance to the colonisers given that no political activities were allowed under Japanese colonial rule. In this way, the Irish dramatic movement became a model for the modern Korean theatre movement to follow and Irish playwrights who were involved in the Abbey Theatre, the centre of the movement, were adopted in the Korean dramatic repertoire making. However, given that Korean theatre under colonial rule was the site of struggles between the coloniser and the colonised and the colonisers were the dominant power, we can easily presume that the power relations might have been reflected in the process of the selection of Irish drama: the

selection of Irish playwrights in colonial Korea did not take place without the interventions of the colonisers' censorship. The Japanese colonial government suppressed translation activities that were against their colonial policies by wielding their power of censorship. In this way, Irish drama in colonial Korea was formed in correlation with conflicting systems, Korean nationalism and the colonisers' censorship. The self-censorship on the side of the colonised also played a part in the process of the repertoire formation. Therefore, the translated repertoire of Irish drama in colonial Korea did not fully represent the interests and intentions of Korean intellectuals, as exemplified by the case of Sean O'Casey.

Although O'Casey's plays were considered the most desirable model to serve the political purposes of Korean theatre among the Korean dramatic circle at that time, only one of his plays was translated and then published and none could be staged under Japanese imperial rule. The colonisers' censorship allowed no further translation and staging of O'Casey's plays because the colonial government thought his plays were full of nationalism (Jang W. 2000: 93-94). As a result, O'Casey's position was on the periphery of the list of translated Irish drama authors under colonialism.

However, he did not remain a minor playwright on the colonial scene. Korean intellectuals used his plays to serve their purposes of resistance and innovation by engaging in a kind of indirect translation activity and appropriating his plays in creating original Korean plays. In order to pass the colonisers' censorship, Korean intellectuals used critical essays to introduce O'Casey's plays. Censorship of critical essays was less strict than that of translated texts because critical essays were considered not to be a public threat as much as were translated works or the theatre. Korean intellectuals introduced the plot of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy in detail and sometimes translated those parts of the texts that they thought served nationalist

political purposes. In a sense, writing critical essays was a kind of indirect translation activity. These critical essays were published in daily newspapers that were used as a means of cultural resistance under colonial rule. The traces of censorship shown in the critical essays revealed again the struggle between the colonisers and the colonised to make the meaning serve their own purposes. The colonisers wielded their power of censorship to suppress the resistance aspects in critical essays while Korean intellectuals tried to stimulate resistance against the colonisers by their lexical choices. The fact that, among Irish playwrights, O'Casey-related publications showed the most traces of censorship meant that he was perceived as the most political playwright by both the colonisers and the colonised.

As in the critical essays, the Korean translation of O'Casey's play *The Shadow of a Gunman* revealed the struggle between the colonisers and the colonised to make the meaning serve their own purposes. The translation strategy adopted in *The Shadow* also revealed the ideological purpose of the colonised. Even-Zohar states that the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy are greater when translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem (2004: 203), but this remark does not precisely reflect the situation of Irish drama translation in colonial Korea. Even-Zohar also points out that "translated works correlated in the way they adopt specific norms, which results from their relations with the other home co-systems" (ibid.: 199); thus, translational norms and strategies in Korean theatre revealed relations with the other home co-systems. Translational norms in Korean theatre were defined by the position of translated drama, which was correlated not only with the Korean dramatic polysystem, but also with the Korean ideological polysystem. Translated drama in Korean theatre had to serve both aesthetic and ideological purposes and these functions defined translational norms. For the aesthetic purpose, translation had to be close to the

original in terms of adequacy while, for the ideological purpose, translation had to be faithful to the target readers and audiences in terms of acceptability. As in other Irish plays, the translation strategies adopted in *The Shadow* reflected these conflicting norms of foreignisation and domestication. These facts prove that, rather than having a peripheral position in the list of translated Irish authors, O'Casey was received as a major playwright in Korean theatre to serve the purposes of the Korean theatre under colonialism.

Furthermore, O'Casey's central position in Korean theatre was confirmed by the debt owed by a central Korean dramatist, Yu Chi-jin, in creating his own plays. According to Even-Zohar, when a target literature is dependent upon other literatures, literary contacts might be a major factor for its development (1975: 44). In the case of Korean theatre under colonialism, the literary contacts with Sean O'Casey provided not only a major factor for the development of Korean dramatic literature, but also tools of resistance to colonial power. Yu Chi-jin received inspiration from O'Casey and appropriated the Irish dramatist's Dublin trilogy in creating his own dramatic theme, characters and techniques to write his own realist peasant trilogy, which marked the advent of realist peasant drama in the history of Korean drama. This peasant trilogy was used to spread resistance consciousness under colonialism. Especially, the colonisers considered *The Ox* as being so political, that is to say, anti-colonial, that they put the author into prison.

Bassnett points out that "periods of intense translation activity in a culture are followed by a great flowering of local writing talent," and, as an example, she cites "the English Renaissance of the sixteenth century after the vast amount of translation undertaken during the difficult years of civil war in the fifteenth" (2006: 179). However, Korea differs from Bassnett's example in that the dramatists started being productive 'during' and not after the period of translation activity. Many talented

young dramatists started producing their works during the period of intense translation activity in the 1920s and 1930s and Yu Chi-jin was one of them. The difference between the English Renaissance and Korea stemmed from the cultural and political situations of Korea in which the translation activities took place; the position of translated drama was influenced by such situations, and was one of the factors affecting the emergence of native Korean playwrights: Since *sinpa* and traditional theatres were not effective in achieving their purpose of educating the masses to recover their independence, the Koreans urgently needed to establish their own modern theatre to serve the purpose by producing new dramatists. Translation activities were developed as a means of achieving that. This was the reason young Korean dramatists emerged during the period of translation activities in the 1920s and 1930s.

Thus, Yu Chi-jin's works were, primarily, the product of a complex of social, cultural, and political factors that variously combined under the pressure of colonial and national imperatives. The process in which Yu devoted himself to the theatre and appropriated O'Casey's plays supports this view. Unlike O'Casey, Yu's creativity through O'Casey was to do with nationalism rather than his personal growth as a dramatist. In fact, before leaving for Japan in 1920, he worked as a post-office clerk and had no relation to theatre. Yu's interest in the theatre was initiated by his sense of social responsibility as one of the intellectuals in the colonial situation, not by his own artistic instinct, and his nationalistic orientation appropriated images of O'Casey and his plays as patriotic and nationalistic. His peasant trilogy was the result of the repositioned product of O'Casey's plays.

As for his method of adaptation, he directly used O'Casey's plays as a model for enriching his own work rather than using translation, which Even Zohar calls a peripheral activity. In creating his own plays through O'Casey's plays, it can be said

that what I call the ‘constructive reading’ played a larger part than did his translation activity because he translated only two Irish plays before and while he was creating his peasant trilogy.¹¹⁰ I define the ‘constructive reading’ as productive reading in that the way you read and the things you read about become the original works that you produce.

Yu read O’Casey’s plays over and over again and got nutrition from the reading experience for his creative works (Yu C. 1993c: 93). Bassnett says, “Frequently writers translate other people’s works because those are the works they would have written themselves had they not already have been created by someone else” (2006: 175). Alternatively, writers may translate other people’s works because those are the kind of works they will someday write themselves. In both cases, translation is not just an exercise: it is part of the continuum of a writer’s life. This can be also applied to reading. In the case of Yu Chi-jin, reading was used for the latter case. Yu read O’Casey’s works repeatedly because those were the works he would write himself. Just like O’Casey acquired his sense of structure and of style of drama through his readings of Shakespeare and Dion Boucicault (McHugh 1975: 36), Yu acquired his sense of themes, structure and style of drama through his readings of O’Casey. In her essay entitled ‘Writing and Translating’, Bassnett says, “translation was a means not only of acquiring more information about other writers and their work, but also of discovering new ways of writing” (2006: 174). To Yu Chi-jin, this purpose was served by constructive reading.

What made this possible was, most of all, his direct literary contact with O’Casey’s plays because, except *The Shadow of a Gunman*, O’Casey’s plays could not be translated and published in Korea under Japanese colonial rule. As a student

¹¹⁰ Yu Chi-jin adapted and directed in 1933 for radio broadcasting one of Synge’s works, which is presumably *The Well of the Saints*, with the Korean title of *Yaksu* (meaning ‘medicinal waters’), and adapted Ervine’s *The Magnanimous Lover* in 1935 for radio broadcasting.

and a scholar of English literature, he read and knew O'Casey's plays in their original language and could appropriate them directly. According to Even-Zohar, "In a great number of transfer cases, acceptance or rejection of a certain item from an external source is not necessarily linked to its origin, but rather to the position it has managed to acquire within the target" (1990: 58). This statement alludes to possible appropriations that may be made in the process of transfer. The acceptance of O'Casey's plays in Korean theatre under colonial rule was linked to their acquired position in Korean theatre through appropriations, and their acceptance by Yu Chi-jin was also concerned with their position as appropriated by Yu himself. Through the appropriations, Yu produced his own plays that had as their themes anti-colonialism.

Although O'Casey's plays could not be directly used for the purpose of nationalism in modern Korean theatre because of the colonisers' censorship, his plays were reborn as resistance works by being appropriated by Yu Chi-jin. Yu's plays did not lead to direct political actions and physical confrontation, but they contributed to a national awakening under colonialism. His plays also contributed to the emergence of a new drama genre, a realist peasant drama, in the "young" Korean dramatic polysystem. O'Casey's plays should be positioned in relation to these functions of Yu's peasant trilogy. His plays had an influence on the emergence of a new genre and a resistance drama. In this sense, his plays can be repositioned in the modern Korean dramatic polysystem as having the features of resistance and innovation. Robinson argued that "the flexibility of Japanese censorship control enabled them to shape the content of Korean publication to their satisfaction" (1984: 312), but this does not apply to O'Casey's case. Although censorship control by the Japanese apparently succeeded in influencing the content of Korean publications to serve their purpose, a more in-depth examination shows the opposite: O'Casey's

plays were used as a more effective way to resist colonial power by being appropriated in the creation of original Korean plays.

The process of literary interference and appropriations in colonial Korea, as summarised above, in many ways reflects the laws of literary interference that Even-Zohar suggests (1990: 53-72), but with some variations of or deviations from the laws. Most of these variations or deviations are due to the colonial context in which the interference and appropriations took place. As for the conditions of emergence and the occurrence of interference, Even-Zohar says a source literature is selected by prestige or dominance. However, in the selection of Irish drama in Korean theatre under colonialism, ideology functioned as a more influential factor than prestige or dominance. In cases of partially developed systems and minority cultures, a prestigious literature may function as a literary *superstratum* for a target literature just as was the case of the status of Greek and Latin literatures for all European literatures (Even-Zohar 1990: 66). In the case of colonial Korea, the prestige of Irish drama was a factor in the selection process, but it was a negligible factor. If prestige had acted as a main factor, British drama including Shakespeare should have been more dominant than Irish drama, but when the nationalistic modern Korean theatre movement reached its climax during the 1930s, Irish drama became more dominant in Korean theatre than did British drama.

Even-Zohar says that a “literature may be selected as a source literature when it is dominant due to extra-cultural conditions,” for example, when a literature is made “unavoidable” by a colonial power, which imposes its language and texts on a subjugated community (1990: 68). However, Irish drama in Korea was not selected by dominance. The choice was made on the Korean intellectuals’ own initiative rather than because it was “unavoidable”. Korean intellectuals sought their tools of resistance to colonial power in another literature of the colonised, Irish drama, rather

than in the colonisers' literature.

According to Even-Zohar, "interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself", and he goes on to say that a "need may arise when a new generation feels that the norms governing the system are no longer effective and therefore must be replaced" and "it might be asked whether such a need can indeed emerge not as a consequence of some internal development in a literature, but rather as a result of the existence of certain options in an accessibly adjacent literature" (1990: 69). It is true that literary interference occurred in colonial Korea because the Korean drama system was in need of items unavailable within itself, but the need arose from two perspectives: aesthetic and ideological. Korean theatre needed a modernised form of theatre to enrich its "young" modern dramatic system and also needed a form of resistance theatre in order to confront colonial power. Thus, the needs in the case of colonial Korea were not only correlated to the internal development of the Korean dramatic system; they were also related to the development of Korean political situations. The need also can be said to have arisen as a result of the existence of certain options in an accessibly adjacent literature. With the modernisation movement, Korean intellectuals could have contact with other adjacent literature and they might have felt the need for a modern form of literature through this contact. However, as Even-Zohar argues, it seems that we cannot simply say that need emerges not as a consequence of some internal development in a literature, but rather as a result of the existence of certain options. This remark seems to neglect the creative ability of human beings. I presume that the need may arise when a new trend of thought arises and new items may be created if they are needed in a literary system. There is a need for future case studies to test this view.

Regarding the process and procedures of interference, Even-Zohar says that

“appropriation tends to be simplified, regularised, and schematised”. He claims that a complex text in the source literature may have a simpler function in the target literature:

It is relatively established that peripheral activities using a secondary repertoire tend to regularize patterns that are relatively variegated in a given source.¹¹¹ By implication, "regularized" entities are also schematized and simplified. This may mean that while a certain item may have an intricate or plurivocal function within the source literature, its function within the target literature may be more univocal or restricted. (1990: 71)

Even-Zohar goes on to say that, equally, the opposite could happen - the source could be very simple and uncomplicated, but could be “read” by the adapter in a different way and used for a different purpose. If this is the case, it makes the adaptation “plurivocal”, that is, with many voices, saying many things, whereas the original was univocal, saying one thing, with one voice (ibid.: 72).

The problem in this remark, I think, is that of who decides the function of a literary text: writers, readers, adapters, or critics? In addition, the function may be different in a different period. A text may work on many different levels and contain many different themes according to people or period. Only the purpose, not the function, of a text may be simple or complicated because the writer or initiator, such as a publisher or a sponsor, defines it. For example, the intention of appropriation

¹¹¹ This is what Venuti complains about in *The Scandals of Translation* (1998); by being translated into English, most translated literary works are appropriated, made to look like productions of the host culture. He argues that they should retain some markers of their origins.

may be simple, but we cannot say that the result of the appropriation is simple because various interpretations may be possible for the result. Thus, I suggest that the term “function” be replaced by “purpose” in my discussion.

In the case of O'Casey's plays, they may have had many different purposes in the host literature, but were adapted because of a single issue that they contained - that of the struggle for a national identity. Of course, Yu took O'Casey's plays and adapted them on two levels. One level dealt with the element of nationalism that gave Korean theatre the political energy necessary under colonial rule; the other was a more personal search for a way of drawing characters - so he had a wider educational motive as well as a more personal one. However, the former motive was stronger.

My thesis has dealt with, in Gandhi's terms (1998: 5), the reservoir of the colonial past that the political experiences and cultural practices of colonised subjects produced through intense discursive activity, characterised by a profusion of thought and writing about the cultural and political identities of other colonised subjects. In the process of the discussion of appropriations, there might have been appropriations on the side of the author since this thesis started from the assumption that translation can be a tool of resistance when the colonised people use it for themselves, as exemplified in Tymoczko (1999), and adopted a nationalistic perspective in the initial discussion. There may be other perspectives to complement my thesis and, as a result of that, another position may be imposed on O'Casey's plays in modern Korean theatre under colonialism. I hope my thesis will provide one of those many perspectives on the study of the relation between O'Casey and Yu Chi-jin, between Korean drama and Irish drama, and furthermore, on the transfer of the literature of the colonised.

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